

A 19
NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE

TRANSACTIONS

AT

BENARES.

BY WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DEBRET, (Successor to Mr. ALMON) oppo-
posite BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY. 1782.

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TRANSACTIONS

AT

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1848
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S. E. R. S.

By WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.



Printed for J. DODDINGTON (MR. ALMON) at
Pocock's Coffee-house, in Pall-mall, 1782.

Edward Wheler, Esq.

&c. &c. &c. and Council.

Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE now the honour to send you the Narrative, which I promised in my letter of the 18th October, of the transactions and events which passed during the course of the late insurrection of this province.

I had

I had begun it at the time of the date prefixed to it, but the busy scenes which followed, both while I was at Chunar and after my return to Benares, hindered me from prosecuting it till a few days before the date which I have subjoined to it. I did not chuse to alter the introduction, although written at such a distance of time from that in which the body of the work was executed, and even from the existence of the events which are recorded in the latter, because I found it not easy to give it a new form, without a total omission of what had been already produced, while my mind was animated by the recent, and actual scenes on which it was engaged. To an anxious and most feeling solicitude, not more for the issue of
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the impending contest, than for its consequences on my own reputation: in the consciousness of the rectitude of my own intentions, I had allowed myself to use an appeal, the most solemn and most sacred that could bind my relation to truth, or impress the conviction of it on the hearts of others; nor could I, consistently with my own sense of its obligation, withdraw it, or coldly place it after the narrative already written, and written under the check which I had imposed upon it. I know not whether I shall be clearly understood; if I am not, yet let this endeavour to explain a seeming impropriety in the construction of this performance be accepted for its apology.

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I have only to add my hope, that
as I have received the most cordial
support in the past events from you,
my respectable, and most respected
associates in the administration; and
as it has been my unvaried study to
prevent your suffering any embar-
rassment from them, my conduct in
them may also receive its first re-
ward, in the testimony of your ap-
probation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS.

Benares, 31st Dec. 1781.

I have

Mr. Hastings's Narrative

OF THE LATE

TRANSACTIONS

AT

B E N A R E S.

Chunar, 1st of September, 1781.

IN whatever manner the scene may close in which I am now engaged, the calamities with which it opened will not fail, in their first impression, to influence in some degree the minds of all men in forming their judgment of it. In the following Narrative, if I can trust to my own sentiments, or if those who shall read it will credit this declaration of them, I shall less study to efface that impression than seek to divest my mind of all partial bias, and to deliver all the past transactions and occurrences with the strictest and most faithful regard to truth; in which if I fail, I fail unknowingly: and may the God of Truth so judge me, as my own conscience shall condemn or acquit me of intentional deception!

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The motives and objects of my journey were various : with these the design of my transactions at Benares had but a remote and secondary connection. I left Calcutta on the 7th of July. At Buxar, Rajah Cheit Sing paid me the customary duty of respect, by advancing to that place which lay the nearest to the boundary of his Zemidarry. He brought with him a great fleet of boats, which, as I afterwards learned, were crowded with two thousand armed and chosen men. This circumstance was noticed by many of the gentlemen who accompanied me, and was certainly a deviation from the established rules of decorum; not only such as are observed from vassals to their superiors, but even such as pass between equals. An instance of this will be remembered by many to have happened at Benares, in the year 1773, in the meeting which took place there between the late Vizier Suja ul Dowla and myself. He had left his capital with a large retinue; but hearing that I came unattended, he dismissed his followers, and met me with a state as humble as mine.

I received the Rajah with civility, and without any expression of displeasure. I left Buxar the next morning, and received a second visit from the Rajah in my boat. After a short space, he desired to speak to me in private. The particulars

Jars of our conversation I do not exactly remember: I can only relate the substance of it. He professed much concern to hear that I was displeased with him, and contrition for having given cause for it, assuring me that his Zemidarry and all that he possessed were at my devotion: he expressed his fears of Ooffaun Sing, who had been some days in my suite, and of the intrigues of his relations; and he accompanied his words by an action either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity, by laying his turban on my lap. I replied, that I had not seen Ooffaun Sing, nor concerned myself about him, nor should I descend to be a party in his family disagreements; that my business was with him, and with him only: that what he heard, or might have conjectured of my displeasure, was true; and I entered into a full discussion of the causes of it; that I had been already once deceived by his oaths and protestations, and should not suffer my purpose to be changed, or my duty to be over-ruled, by any verbal concessions or declarations, which were made with little cost, and for the observance of which I had no pledge nor warrant to credit them. He pleaded his inability to answer my charges against him, admitted that he was in every respect faulty, but desired that I would forget the past, and form

my opinion of him on his future behaviour : I declined any further conversation on the subject, and he took his leave.

As the preceding conversation was accidental, and made no part of the plan which I had concerted in my own mind for my conduct with the Rajah, I kept no minutes of it, nor should have thought it deserving of a place in this narrative, but for the weight which he has since given to it, and that it might not be imputed to me as a designed suppression, if I made no mention of it, I shall proceed to relate the subjects to which it alluded, and add the purposes which I had in contemplation concerning them.

On the first intelligence of the war with France, in July, 1778, it was resolved in Council, that Rajah Cheit Sing should be required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy for the expence which this new exigency had imposed on our Government; and the sum was limited to five Lacks of Rupees for the current year. After many excuses, and protestations of inability, he at length consented, with a very ill grace, to the payment, and with a worse discharged it. The next year the same demand was repeated, and he attempted in like manner to elude it, affecting to borrow money in small sums, and to sell his
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plate and jewels to raise the sum ; nor was it paid at last till he had reduced the board to the extremity of ordering two battalions of Sepoys to the neighbourhood of Ramnagur, and quartering them upon him, with their pay charged to his account, until the whole payment was completed.

Early in the following year, about the month of May, he deputed Lalla Saddanund, who was his buxey and the confidential manager of his affairs, on a private commission to me, to solicit my forgiveness for his past conduct, and to give me assurances, confirmed by oath, of his future submission to the orders of my government, and compliance with my advice. I accepted his excuses, and promised him an oblivion of all that had passed exceptionable in his conduct, and my future protection and every good office in my power, so long as he adhered to his professions : requiring only as the pledge of their sincerity, that he would immediately notify his ready and unreserved consent to the demand which would be made upon him, this being the period for it, of the subsidy for the current year, and that he would use no delay in discharging it. I at the same time explained to Saddanund the nature of the demand, its conformity to the customs of all States in times of extraordinary emergency, and assured him that, though he must expect a repetition of it every year so long as the war lasted,

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yet it could not be justly drawn into a precedent for enacting an encrease on his regular and stipulated rent; and so far as it could depend upon me, I gave him the strongest assurances, and I believe very solemn asseverations, that it should not. Saddanund vowed the fullest obedience on the part of his master: the demand was accordingly made; and the Rajah answered it with a liberal and unreserved declaration of his acquiescence. I expected the immediate payment of the whole sum according to his engagement, and I placed a reliance upon it so far as to destine the appropriation of it to the support of the detachment, which was then acting in the Province of Malva, under the command of Lieut. Col. Camac, not apprehending any policy which could warp him from the strong obligation of such an engagement, and from the evident interest which he had in fulfilling it. I was mistaken. The first payment was made in different periods in the course of a month, amounting to about a lack of rupees; and there, as I recollect, he stopped, and even descended to the meanness of writing to solicit the forbearance of the remainder, that it might be included in the regular payment of the ensuing year, which was then approaching. I am not possessed at this time of the materials for ascertaining the dates of the demand, and of his letter written in acquiescence of it, nor the dates and correspondent sums of the subsequent payments

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but I desire that these may be inserted by the Secretary as a note to this page of the narrative*. It is sufficient to say that the demand was made, and the whole payment consequently due, in July, that it was not until the month of October, nor until the same constraint was practised to compel his obedience as had been used in the preceding year, by an order for the advance of two battalions of Sepoys for that purpose, that the balance of the subsidy, which was two lacks and a half of rupees, was discharged. In the mean time the resident received an order from the board to remit the money, as he received it, by bills to the Pay Master of Lieut. Col. Camac's detachment; but these from the lateness of the receipts were not sent until the detachment had suffered the extremity of distress from the want of money, and very great desertions; all which calamities I charge to Rajah Cheit Sing's account, as it is certain that my reliance on his faith, and his breach of it were the principal causes that no other provision had been made for the detachment, and that it suffered such want in consequence.

It is with the greatest tenderness that I recur to the past dissensions in our Government; but I am

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* July	—	—	—	100,000
August	—	—	—	50,000
September	—	—	—	100,000
20th of October	—	—	—	250,000
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				500,000

compelled to it on this occasion for the elucidation of the conduct of this man, which had the appearance of being invariably guided by the reports which were made to him of the state of my influence. When he deputed his Buxey Saddanund to me in the manner I have mentioned, an apparent harmony had taken place in our Councils, with the general expectation of its being permanent. The powers of our Government whenever united, and if I may use the term, consolidated by such an event, will ever recover the respect which is due to them, especially from those who have rendered themselves obnoxious to its terrors. The subject which produced the subsequent contest between Mr. Francis and myself originated a little before the departure of Saddanund from the presidency, but was not perhaps either generally known, or known to have grown into a decided breach, till the latter end of July. A reference to the proceedings of that period will prove the grounds of this supposition. It was the prescribed duty of Cheit Sing's Vakeels to furnish him with every little anecdote which bore any relation to the state of our Government: I believe that the deliberate manner in which he made the first payment of the subsidy of that year was dictated by the doubts suggested of the firmness of my authority; and I am morally certain that his subsequent excuses and delays in the payment of the residue of the subsidy were caused by the belief that I was

no longer able to enforce it, and possibly (for such was the report) that a few months would close the period of my administration altogether. That I had his solemn promise in the manner which I have recited, to pay the subsidy, I as solemnly affirm; and his letter assenting to the payment, which is recorded in our consultations, is a strong presumptive evidence of it; and that he evaded the performance of his promise, that he attempted to the utmost of his power to elude it altogether, is also proved by the record of the dates of the different payments, the minutes of the Board relating to them, and the order of the Board for the march of a detachment for the purpose of compelling him to perform it. That this order had a principal effect in bringing him to a compliance I believe; but I also attribute a share of it to the approaching departure of Mr. Francis, which was publicly and generally expected.

I owe it in candour to the Gentleman, whose name I have reluctantly repeated in this digression, to obviate any inference which might otherwise be unvarily drawn from it, by declaring that I mean not, by the most distant hint, to impute any of this policy to him, and in my heart do totally and deliberately acquit him of any concern in it, however, in the instant resentment of disappointment, I may have suf-

ferred my mind to catch such a suspicion, although I believe that if I have, it has been sacredly confined to my own breast.

This was the first direct charge which I had to prefer against the Rajah: the second was similar in its quality and principle. On the second of the month of November, 1780, a resolution passed the Board, that a letter should be written to the Nabob Vizier, advising him to require from the Nabob Feyz Oolla Cawn the number of troops stipulated by treaty, expressed, as they were then understood, to be 5000 horse; and that the like demand should be made on Rajah Cheit Sing for all the cavalry in his pay, which he could spare for our service. At that time we stood in need of every aid that could be devised to repel the multiplied dangers which surrounded us: the Rajah was supposed to maintain a very large and expensive force; and the strength of his cavalry alone was estimated at two thousand. I had formerly experienced their utility in the war with the Sineassies, in which they were successfully employed, and liberally rewarded. The demand was formally made, both in a letter from myself, and in person by the Resident, Mr Fowke, in the easy and indefinite terms mentioned above. His answers were evasive, pleading, as I recollect, for I am not in possession of them, the scantiness
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of the establishment, its employment in enforcing the collections, and the danger of these failing, if the detachments were withdrawn. At length a more peremptory order was sent to him, and repeated by the present Resident, Mr. Markham. The number required was 2000, and afterwards reduced to the demand of 1500, and lastly to 1000; but with no more success. He offered 250, but furnished none.

These instances of contumacy and disobedience, criminal as they were in themselves, and aggravated by the extreme and known distresses and dangers of the superior state, to which he owed not only personal fealty, but every voluntary aid which all the resources of his Zemidarry could contribute, appeared to me of less consideration as such than as they were evidences of a deliberate and systematic conduct, aiming at the total subversion of the authority of the Company, and the erection of his own independency on its ruins. This had been long and generally imputed to him. It was reported that he had inherited a vast mass of wealth from his father Bulwant Sing, which he had secured in the two strong fortresses of Bidjeygur and Luteefpoor, and made yearly additions to it; that he kept up a large military establishment both of cavalry, of disciplined and irregular infantry, and of artillery; that he had

the above and many other fortresses, of strong construction and in good repair, and constantly well stored and garrisoned; that his Aumils and tenants were encouraged and habituated to treat English passengers with inhospitality, and with enmity; that he maintained a correspondence with the Marattas, and other powers who either were or might eventually become the enemies of our state; and if the disaffected Zemidars of Fyzabad and Bahar were not included in the report, which I do not recollect, we have had woeful proof that there was equal room to have suspected the like intercourse between them; and lastly, that he was collecting, or had prepared, every provision for open revolt, waiting only for a proper season to declare it, which was supposed to depend either on the arrival of a French armament, or on a Maratta invasion.

This design had been greatly favoured by the unhappy divisions of our government, in which he presumed to take an open part. It is a fact, that when these had proceeded to an extremity bordering on civil violence, by the attempt to wrest from me my authority in the month of June, 1777, he had deputed a man, named Sumboonaut, with an express commission to my opponent; and the man had proceeded as far as Moorshedabad, when hearing of the change of
affairs

affairs which had taken place at the Presidency, he stopped, and the Rajah recalled him.

It may, perhaps, be urged in favour of Rajah Cheit Sing, that he was justifiable by the principle of good policy in seeking a state of independency; that we had no natural right to his vassalage, having acquired it, with all our other rights of dominion, by no other charter than the successful spirit of enterprize. Were this truly the case, it would reduce the relation between us to the primitive law of nature; and it would be equally incumbent on us on that ground alone to use every means to confirm and perpetuate his subjection, as it would be allowable in him to emancipate himself from it. But something more, I apprehend, was due, both as a political and even moral obligation from him. His father, Bulwant Sing, derived the degree of independency which he possessed during the latter period of his life, from the protection and intervention of our government. His son, Cheit Sing, obtained from our influence, exerted by myself, the first legal title that his family ever possessed of property in the land, of which he, till then, was only the Aumil, and of which he became the acknowledged Zemidar, by a Sunnud granted to him by the Nabob Suja ul Dowla, at my instance, in the month of September, 1773. On the suc-
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sion of the Nabob Affof ul Dowla, the rights of sovereignty, which were held by him over the Zemidarry, were transferred by treaty to the Company. Those rights were indisputably his, and became, by his alienation of them, as indisputably the Company's; and every obligation of fidelity and obedience, which is due from a Zemidar to the superior magistrates by the constitution of Hindostan, became as much the right of the Company from Cheit Sing, as they had been due to his former sovereign, with the additional ties of gratitude for the superior advantages which he was allowed to possess with his new relation. The unexampled lenity of our government, in relinquishing to him the free and uncontrouled rule of his Zemidarry, subject to a limited annual fine, and the royalties of the mint, administration of justice and police, ought to have operated as an additional claim on his fidelity; but evidently served but to stimulate his ambition, and perhaps to excite in his mind an opinion that he possessed an inherent right of self-dependency.

I considered Cheit Sing as culpable, in a very high degree, towards our state, and his punishment, of which I had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct, as an example which justice and policy required, equally for the reparation of the wrongs which its dignity had

had sustained, and for the future preservation of its authority. I was resolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses, and to exact a penalty, which I was convinced he was very able to bear, from a fund which I was also convinced he had destined for purposes of the most dangerous tendency to the Company's dominion. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency.

Those who have been accustomed to regard Cheit Sing as a vassal, or tributary prince, may revolt at the idea of treating him with such indignity, and call it an oppression. They will suppose nothing due from him to the Company but the payment of his stipulated tribute, and *that* the pledge of his exemption from every other claim. I suspect too that the deeds, which passed between him and the Board on the transfer of his Zemindarry to the Company in 1775, are by many understood to bear the quality and force of a treaty of optional conditions between equal states.—To such I reply, that such an opinion is itself criminal to the state of which he was a subject, and that he was himself amenable to its justice if he gave countenance to the belief. He paid no tribute to the Company, but a fixed annual rent.

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The deeds by which he held his Zemidarry, and the Company their claim to their portion of its revenue, were a Sunnud, or grant, and a Potta, or lease, executed on the part of the Company; and a Cabuleeat, or agreement, and Kistbundee, or account of payments to be made by installments, on his part. These, excepting the special privileges allowed to the Rajah of the Mint, the Cutwallees of Benares and Jowanpoor, the Foojdarree and Aumeeny; that is, so far as they relate to the Zemidarry alone, are drawn precisely in the same forms as instruments of the same denominations interchanged with the Zemidars of Bengal. I refer to the instruments themselves, which will make a number in the Appendix to this Narrative, in which it will be seen on how different a tenure, and how infinitely below independency, he really held his Zemidarry. The Sunnud and Cabuleeat are exact counterparts of each other. The former prescribes the revenue which was to be paid, and the duties which were to be performed, as the conditions on which the Rajah was confirmed in the possession of his Zemidarry; and of these conditions the Cabuleeat is a pledge or engagement for the performance. In the first, the "government and sovereignty" of the Zemidarry, transferred by the Nabob Assof ul Dowla to the Company, are stated as the basis of it. The Zemidarry is confirmed to him: A
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strict "observation and execution of the duties incumbent on him;"—"to behave with moderation and kindness to the Rayots and people; to promote the cultivation and increase of the inhabitants and produce of the lands;" to preserve the peace, and "punish the disturbers of it;" and to pay a yearly rent of 2,340,249 Mahidar rupees, in monthly payments, agreeable to the Kistbundy; are most strictly and positively commanded and enjoined:—And the officers of the Zemidarry are commanded to regard him as the Zemidar, "and to acknowledge his authority in the several acts appertaining thereunto." —I must observe that, in the translation of the Sunnud, the yearly revenue is in one place, through the negligence of the translator, expressed by the word tribute: but it is not on the translation, nor on the will of the translator, that the rights of the Company depend. I affirm the word to be false, as it is inconsistent with the proper term "revenue," immediately following in the same translation, and with the same term "revenue," occurring in the translation of the Cabuleeat or agreement.

The Cabuleeat also sets off with stating the Company's sovereignty as the basis of the agreement; and acknowledges the grant made by the Company to Rajah Cheit Sing, of the Zemidarry

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and other privileges recited in the Sunnud. And it proceeds to express, that “ it shall be his duty
 “ to do every thing that may be needful and usual
 “ for the interest and security of the country ; to
 “ provide for the welfare of the inhabitants ; to
 “ be attentive to the encrease of cultivation and
 “ improvement of the revenue ; to use his en-
 “ deavours “ to expel robbers,” &c. and to pay the
 “ annual revenue of government, in the manner
 “ prescribed by the Sunnud.”

To obviate misapprehensions I think it proper to remark, that in the above recital I have abridged the text where it was too prolix and involved for literal quotation, and given the substance in the closest sense of it ; but where I have used the original words of the translations, I have marked them with inverted commas as such. The copies in the Appendix will shew with what fidelity I have conformed to the text in both instances.

I have dwelt with a greater stress, and with a more minute exactness on the foregoing subject, because it is on this point that the justice and propriety of my conduct must wholly turn. If Rajah Cheit Sing possessed the Zemidarry of Benares in his own right, and with an inherent and exclusive authority ; if he owed no allegiance to the Company, nor obedience beyond the payments of a stipulated

stipulated tribute, I am liable to condemnation for exacting other duties from him, and for all the consequences of that exaction, and he is guiltless. But if the Company, possessing the acknowledged right of his former Sovereign, held an absolute authority over him; if in the known relation of Zemidar to the sovereign authority, or the power delegated by it, he owed a personal allegiance and an implicit and unreserved obedience to that authority; at the forfeiture of his Zemidarry, and even of his life and property, at the discretion of those who held or fully represented the sovereign authority; if, in corroboration of the general and implied obligation, he was bound to it by written engagements and specific conditions, I am warranted in my assertion of the rights of government, which were fully and wholly delegated to me; and he alone is responsible for his opposition to them, and for all the consequences which have attended that opposition.

Whether I have exercised the power vested in me with justice, and with moderation, will appear from the preceding relation, and the following parts of this narrative.

Before I quit this digression, I must further trespass on the patience of the Board, and of those for whose judgment it is ultimately written, by a

more pointed application of the above to my own personal conduct and character.

I will suppose for a moment that I have erred, that I have acted with an unwarranted rigour towards Cheit Sing, and even with injustice. Let my motive be consulted: I left Calcutta impressed with the belief that extraordinary means were necessary, and those exerted with a strong hand, to preserve the Company's interests from sinking under the accumulated weight which oppressed them: I saw a political necessity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and for making it contribute to the relief of their pressing exigencies.

If I erred, my error was prompted by an excess of zeal for their interests operating with too strong a bias upon my judgment. But rare are the instances in which the judgment suffers the bias of such an operation; and much stronger is the presumption, that acts prompted by an unmixed attention to the public interests are founded on just principles, than that they are the result of a misguided judgment.

Possibly it may be suspected, and may God forgive those who know me, and countenance the suspicion, I have no title to an exemption from it
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with others, that I was influenced by a secret and mercenary interest. I have heard of the practice of holding out the terrors of authority, and the denunciations of disgrace, dismissal, and war, as the instruments of private rapacity. Though the charge, if true, is capable of positive conviction, yet I know of no direct evidence which could refute it where it were false ; for no man can be conscious of the recesses of another's mind. I can therefore only offer such presumptive proofs of my intention as the nature of it will admit, and accident has provided. These are my own early and confidential declarations, and the attestations of those to whom they were made. In a point of such public moment, independently of the near interest which I have in establishing the truth of it, Mr. Wheler will pardon my appeal to him, although in one light it may tend to involve him in a participation of the reproach of those who may regard every severity shewn to Cheit Sing as criminal, however founded. He will doubtless recollect the conversation which I had with him on the subject, on the eve of my departure from Calcutta ; our mutual opinion of Cheit Sing's past conduct ; mine of the justice and policy of exacting an exemplary punishment for it by a large pecuniary mulct ; the sum to which I then declared my resolution to extend it ; my conviction of his ability to pay it ; and the two alternatives on which

I had

I had resolved, if he refused to submit to it. He will also remember that I bespoke his confidence in the means which I should use for this end, and his support in the issue of them. I entreat him to give me his formal and circumstantial attestation of these facts, and that he will permit it to be inserted in this part of my narrative.

“ I have the pleasure to comply with the Governor-General’s request, and will cheerfully record in this place what I at present recollect to have passed between us at the time, and on the circumstances which he mentions. I well remember, that on the eve of the Governor-General’s departure from Calcutta, the conduct of Cheit Sing, late Rajah of Benares, was a principal subject of a confidential discourse between us, and that he bespoke my support of the measures which he intended to pursue towards him.

“ The Rajah’s offences were declared to require early punishment, and as his wealth was great, and the company’s exigencies pressing, it was thought a measure of policy and justice, to exact from him a large pecuniary mulct for their relief. The sum to which the Governor declared his resolution to extend this fine, was forty or fifty lacks. His ability to pay it was stated as a fact that could not admit of doubt, and the two alternatives

“ alternatives on which the Governor declared
 “ himself to have resolved, if Cheit Sing refused to
 “ comply with the requisition, were, to the best of
 “ my remembrance, either a removal from his
 “ Zemidary entirely, or by taking possession of
 “ his forts, to obtain out of the treasure deposited
 “ in it the above sum for the Company.

EDWARD WHEELER.

After such an appeal it would be as superfluous as indelicate to call on the aid of other testimonies, if all that were required were no more than to ascertain that I did hold such a conversation as that which I allude to with him. The conclusion will be much strengthened by its agreement with declarations made by me on the same subject, and nearly at the same point of time, to others. I shall therefore require similar attestations from Major Palmer, my military Secretary, and from Mr. Anderson, my appointed assistant on this deputation. With these references, and their result, I shall make my last and solemn appeal to the breast of every man who shall read this; whether it is likely, or morally possible, that I should have tied down my own future conduct to so decided a process and series of acts, if I had secretly intended to threaten, or to use a degree of violence, for no other purpose than to draw from the object of it a mercenary atonement for my own private emolument, and suffer all

all this tumult to terminate in an ostensible and unsubstantial submission to the authority which I represented? Whether it is likely, or morally possible, that I should have chosen to irritate the feelings of my colleague in office, and expose myself to all the effects of his indignation, by so wanton and unnecessary a deception; or lower my own dignity and character, and afford so base an example to my inferiors, by pretending to make them privy to acts which I never meant to perform, and from which I could not depart with any possible shew of reason, but the manifest sacrifice of my integrity? A man actuated by such a motive, and possessing the trust which I held, would have used a cover to his venality: he would not have compromised himself by positive declarations of what he would do, much less by detailing his intentions in a series of trials as they might successively fail; but would have been content with distant and indefinite intimations and suggestions, which obviously left his actions open to enquiry and variation; which could not subject him to the imputation of inconsistency, if they were productive of no effect; and which he might use as justifications, if his artifices should chance to operate with the effect ostensibly portended by them.

I now return to my narrative.

I arrived at Benares on the morning of the 14th of August; the Rajah some hours later. I forbade
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his coming that evening to my quarters as he had intended, and required him to defer his future visits until he should receive my permission, as I had some previous matters to settle with him, of which he would be informed by the Resident, whom I should depute to him the next morning for that purpose.

My narrative will be best continued, nor will the thread of it be broken, by the following copy of my report of my proceedings, and the consequences which attended them to Mr. Wheeler, then the only effective member of the Board.

TO EDWARD WHEELER, Esq.

" SIR,

" I arrived at Benares on the 14th instant.
 " My transactions with the Rajah being of a most
 " important nature to the present and future interests of the Company, I have determined to
 " inform you of them without delay, in the order
 " in which they have occurred.

" The first step which I judged it necessary to
 " take, as the ground on which my future proceedings with the Rajah were to be conducted,

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" was

“ was to recapitulate in writing the several in-
“ stances of his conduct which for some time past
“ have repeatedly drawn upon him the severe re-
“ prehensions of the Board, and to demand a clear
“ and satisfactory explanation.

“ This paper I sent to the Rajah by the hands
“ of Mr. Markham, who was directed to require
“ an immediate answer. Late in the evening his
“ answer arrived. The following are copies of
“ both:

“ To Rajah CHEIT SING.

“ It is about sixteen months since Lalla Sadda-
“ nund, your Buxey and confidential servant,
“ came to Calcutta, charged with an express com-
“ mission and authority to make excuses for your
“ past conduct, and to give me assurances, con-
“ firmed by oath, of your future submission to
“ my advice and the orders of my government.
“ As a test of your sincerity, I required an imme-
“ diate and unreserved acquiescence in the demand,
“ which at the same time was made to you in the
“ the name of the Governor General and Council,
“ of a subsidy of five lacks of rupees for the ex-
“ pences of the war. With this demand you
“ ostensibly complied, in your answer to my
“ letter ;

" letter; and the Buxey promised me verbally in
 " your name, and in terms so strong as amounted
 " to the fullest assurance, that there should be no
 " delay in the payment. Relying on this agree-
 " ment and promise, I gave orders to Mr. Fowke,
 " who was then Resident at this place, to re-
 " ceive the money, and remit it to Colonel Camac,
 " for the pay of the army which had been
 " ordered to march towards the Province of
 " Malva, and I made no other provision for it.
 " Such was my confidence in your faith, but you
 " deceived me; and after having made the first
 " payment of a few rupees, either consulting
 " the temper of the times, or conforming to a
 " premeditated design, you by shifts and pretexts
 " with-held the remainder until the army, for
 " whose use it was intended, was reduced to the
 " last state of distress: many hundreds deserted,
 " and had an enemy at that time appeared against
 " them, their total destruction had been inevitable.
 " In all this time daily application was made to
 " you by the Resident, and I wrote repeated let-
 " ters to you, but you paid no regard to either.
 " Besides this, I required in the name of the Go-
 " vernor General and Council by letter, and
 " ordered Mr. Fowke to repeat the requisition in
 " person, that you should furnish a body of horse
 " to assist and act with the armies of the Company;
 " and, when Mr. Markham succeeded Mr. Fowke,

" I gave him an order to repeat the demand,
 " which he did accordingly with frequent and
 " almost daily importunity, limiting the num-
 " ber to 1500, and afterwards to 1000. To this
 " demand you returned, evasive answers, nor to
 " this hour have you contributed a single horse-
 " man.

" I pass over other instances of your conduct,
 " in which, through the means of your secret
 " agents, you have endeavoured to excite disorders
 " in the government on which you depend ; and
 " your neglect of the duty which you owe to it,
 " and to the subjects of this Zemidarry, by suffer-
 " ing the daily perpetration of robberies and mur-
 " ders, even in the streets of the city of Benares
 " itself, to the great and public scandal of the
 " English name, and in violation of one of the
 " conditions on which you received the confirma-
 " tion of this Zemidarry. But as the two fore-
 " going instances amount to a direct charge of
 " disaffection and infidelity to the government on
 " which you depend, and happened at a time in
 " which it was your duty more especially to have
 " exerted yourself in the support of its interests,
 " I have therefore judged it proper to state them
 " to you thus fully in writing, and to require
 " your answer to them ; and this I expect imme-
 " diately."

From

From Rajah CHEIT SING to the Honourable the
GOVERNOR GENERAL.

“ I received your letter delivered to me by Mr.
 “ Markham, and I have understood every parti-
 “ cular of its contents. Sir, after the arrival of
 “ Shaick Ally Nucky, I observed all the orders
 “ which you sent me, and I received the letter
 “ which the deceased Shaick brought me, inform-
 “ ing me that every suspicion was now completely
 “ removed from your mind, and that I must confi-
 “ der you as formerly attentive to me : but I have
 “ not experienced from you the same generosities
 “ as formerly. I sent you repeatedly letters re-
 “ presenting to your consideration my unhappy
 “ circumstances, but you never honoured me with
 “ any reply. For this reason I sent my Buxey Sad-
 “ danund to your presence, enjoining him to re-
 “ present to you the firmness of my obedience and
 “ attachment, to lay before you the particulars of
 “ my situation, and to learn the disposition of your
 “ mind towards me. He arrived accordingly in
 “ your presence, and represented every thing in
 “ a proper manner. I have never deviated in
 “ the smallest degree from these professions ; and
 “ the benefits and civilities with which you have
 “ honoured me have given me the greatest satis-
 “ faction, and I have considered you as the source
 “ from which I derived the fulfillment of all my
 “ wishes

“ wishes and desires. It is my firm hope that I
 “ may be always favoured with your directions.
 “ In this manner I complied with the utmost rea-
 “ diness with the order you sent me for the pay-
 “ ment of five lacks of rupees on account of the
 “ expences of the war. I sent first one lack of
 “ rupees, with an answer to your letter ; afterwards
 “ having paid to Mr. Fowke the sum of one lack
 “ and 70,000 rupees, I sent a letter requesting a
 “ further allowance of time to enable me to make
 “ some preparations. To this I received no
 “ reply ; it being no time for delay. Notwith-
 “ standing this, I was not a moment inattentive
 “ to this concern, and as soon as my Buxey ar-
 “ rived, I paid immediately the remaining part of
 “ the sum. The remitting of this to the army
 “ did not depend on me : if any delay happened
 “ on this head, I could not help it. If besides the
 “ payment of the money, the remittance of it
 “ also to the army had rested with me, a delay
 “ of this kind should not have happened. I have
 “ inclosed in this letter a paper specifying the par-
 “ ticular sums which have been advanced, with
 “ their dates.

“ With respect to the horse, you desired me in
 “ your letter to inform you what number I could
 “ afford to station with you, and I sent you a par-
 “ ticular account of all that were in my service,
 “ amounting

“ amounting to 1200 horſe, of which ſeveral were
 “ ſtationed at diſtant places ; but I received no
 “ answer to this. Mr. Markham delivered me an
 “ order to prepare 1000 horſe. In compliance
 “ with your wiſhes I collected 500 horſe, and as
 “ a ſubſtitute for the remainder, 500 burkundoffes,
 “ of which I ſent you information, and I told Mr.
 “ Markham they were ready to go to whatever
 “ place they ſhould be ſent. No answer, however,
 “ came from you on this head, and I remained
 “ aſtoniſhed at the cauſe of it. Repeatedly I
 “ aſked Mr. Markham about an answer to my let-
 “ ter about the horſe, but he told me he did not
 “ know the reaſons of no answer having been ſent.
 “ I remained aſtoniſhed. With reſpect to the
 “ ſepoys, I received firſt an order to ſtation two
 “ of my companies, which I did : I was then de-
 “ ſired to give a Tunkaw for the payment of the
 “ ſepoys, and likewise to pay the Captain, which
 “ has been done every month.

“ Excepting Abdullah Beg and his attendants,
 “ none of my people, either dependants or ſervants,
 “ or others in any ſhape connected with me, have
 “ ever gone to Calcutta : my enemies, with a view
 “ to my ruin, have made falſe representations to
 “ you. Now that happily for me you have yourſelf
 “ arrived at this place, you will be able to aſcertain
 “ all the circumſtances relative to the horſe, to
 “ my

" my people going to Calcutta, and the dates of
 " the receipts of the particular sums above-men-
 " tioned. You will know whether I have amused
 " you with a false representation, or made a just
 " report to you. I have given my Aumils most
 " particular injunctions, and have taken a penalty
 " bond from them, that they shall keep no thieves
 " in their district. What power have they to act
 " otherwise? But if ever a murder or robbery is
 " committed in the country, I have been careful
 " to impale or otherwise punish the culprit. If a
 " person having committed a delinquency should
 " escape to some other place, so as to elude all dis-
 " covery, in that case I am helpless; but to the
 " utmost of my power I endeavour to fulfil your
 " orders. I have never swerved in the smallest
 " degree from my duty to you. It remains with
 " you to decide on all these matters. I am in
 " every case your slave; what is just I have re-
 " presented to you: may your prosperity increase."

" Account of five lacks of rupees advanced for
 the expences of the war.

1st	Shaabaun	100,000
29th	Ramzan	170,000
7th	Showull	130,000
18th	Showull	100,000
		<hr/>
		500,000

" This

" This answer you will perceive to be not
 " only unsatisfactory in substance, but offensive
 " in stile, and less a vindication of himself than a
 " recrimination on me. It expresses no concern
 " for the causes of complaint contained in my
 " letter, or desire to atone for them, nor the
 " smallest intention to pursue a different line of
 " conduct. An answer couched nearly in terms
 " of defiance to requisitions of so serious a nature,
 " I could not but consider as a strong indication
 " of that spirit of independency which the Rajah
 " has for some years past assumed, and of which
 " indeed I had early observed other manifest
 " symptoms, both before and from the instant
 " of my arrival.

" Under these alarming appearances of the
 " Rajah's conduct and disposition, I conceived
 " myself indispensibly obliged to form some im-
 " mediate and decisive plan for obviating their
 " consequences, and for the preservation of the
 " Company's rights and interests in this Zemi-
 " darry. To have left him in the full exercise of
 " powers which he had notoriously abused, and
 " which it was to be apprehended he would
 " employ to the most dangerous purposes, was to-
 " tally inconsistent with the maxims of justice and
 " prudence. To divest him entirely of the Ze-
 " midarry, though justifiable on the grounds stated
 F " above,

" above, would have been attended with an
 " appearance of severity, and might have fur-
 " nished ground for constructions unfavourable
 " to the credit of our government, and to my
 " own reputation, from the natural influence
 " which every act of rigour exercised on the per-
 " sons of men who stand in elevated stations,
 " is apt to impress on the minds of those who
 " are too remote from the scene of action to
 " judge, by any evidence but of the direct facts
 " themselves, of their motives or propriety.

" Thus circumstanced, and attentive to these
 " opposite considerations, I laid down the follow-
 " ing plan for my future proceedings :

" I first directed the Resident to repair to the
 " Rajah, who resided at his house, situated on
 " this side of the river, at the distance of about
 " two miles, and gave him the following in-
 " structions :

" Mr. WILLIAM MARKHAM,

" Resident at *Benares*.

" SIR,

" It is my order that you proceed early to-mor-
 " row morning to the house of Rajah Cheit Sing,
 " with your usual guard, and put him in arrest.

" You

" You will require his immediate submission, in-
 " forming him that you act under orders given
 " you by me; and in case of his refusal, you will
 " wait the arrival of two companies of sepoy
 " belonging to Major Popham's detachment, who
 " are directed to follow and assist you in the
 " execution of this service. Having secured the
 " Rajah, you will keep him in your custody until
 " further orders. I am, &c.

" Benares, 15th of August, 1781,
 " ten at night."

" On the next morning Mr. Markham went
 " according to his foregoing instructions, and was
 " followed by two companies of grenadier sepoy
 " belonging to Major Popham's detachment.
 " The Rajah quietly submitted to the arrest, and
 " Mr. Markham returned to me with the fol-
 " lowing letter from the Rajah, leaving him under
 " the charge of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and
 " Simes. For the particulars which passed at this
 " interview, I refer you to the following report,
 " which Mr. Markham delivered to me on his
 " return.

" No. IV. Letter from Rajah CHEIT SING.

" At this time Mr. William Markham being
 " come to me, has informed me that your High-
 " ness's orders are that I should remain under a
 " guard.

" guard. My Protector, I before represented to
 " you, on board your pinnace, that I was the
 " servant of the Honourable Company, and was
 " ready from my heart and soul. Whatever
 " may be your pleasure, do it with your own
 " hands. I am your slave. What occasion can
 " there be for a guard?

" No. V. Report of Mr. MARKHAM.

" To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.
 " Governor-general, &c. &c.

" Honourable Sir,

" I this morning, in obedience to your orders
 " of last night, proceeded with a few of my Or-
 " derlies, accompanied by Lieutenant Stalker, to
 " Shewallah Gaut, the present residence of Rajah
 " Cheit Sing, and acquainted him it was your
 " pleasure he should consider himself in arrest,
 " that he should order his people to behave in a
 " quiet, orderly manner, for that any attempt
 " to rescue him would be attended with his own
 " destruction. The Rajah submitted quietly to
 " the arrest, and assured me that whatever were
 " your orders, he was ready implicitly to obey.
 " He hoped that you would allow him a sub-
 " sistence; but as for his Zemidarry, his forts,
 " and his treasure, he was ready to lay them at
 " your

“ your feet, and his life, if required. He ex-
 “ pressed himself much hurt at the ignominy
 “ which he affirmed must be the consequence of
 “ his confinement, and entreated me to return to
 “ you with the foregoing submission, hoping that
 “ you would make allowances for his youth and
 “ inexperience, and, in consideration of his father’s
 “ name, release him from his confinement as soon
 “ as he should prove the sincerity of his offers,
 “ and himself deserving of your compassion and
 “ forgiveness.

“ Nearly a quarter of an hour after this con-
 “ versation, Lieut. Scott arrived with the two
 “ grenadier companies of Major Popham’s de-
 “ tachment, to whose and Lieutenant Stalker’s
 “ care I left the Rajah, having given them the
 “ following instructions ; that they should disarm
 “ every servant of the Rajah’s, that they should
 “ allow him any such eight or ten Kistmutgars for
 “ the attendance of his person as he should ap-
 “ prove of ; that these men should be shewn to the
 “ sepoys, lest any deceit should be practised ; but
 “ that they might indulge him in any request con-
 “ sistent with the security of his person.

“ I am now returned to acquaint you with
 “ my proceedings, and to receive any further
 “ instructions

“ instructions which you may think necessary.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Honourable Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ (Signed)

WILLIAM MARKHAM,

“ Benares, 16th of August, 1781.

“ As the Rajah, in the above letter, had desired
“ that Mr. Markham might be sent back to him,
“ I was preparing instructions for that purpose,
“ when I received another letter from the Rajah,
“ of which the following is a translation :

“ No. VI. Letter from the Rajah.

“ I am the servant of the Sirkar, and am ready
“ from my heart and soul in the performance of
“ your orders. My honour was bestowed on me
“ by your Highness. It depends on you alone
“ to take away or not to take away the country
“ out of my hands. In case my honour is not
“ left me, how shall I be equal to the business of
“ the Sirkar? Whoever with his hands in a sup-
“ plicating posture is ready with his life and pro-
“ perty, what necessity can there be for him to be
“ dealt with in this way?—

“ From

“ From the apparent despondency in which
“ these letters were written, I thought it necessary
“ to give the Rajah some encouragement, and
“ accordingly wrote him the following answer :

“ No. VII. Letter from the Governor-general.

“ I have received your two Arzees from the
“ hands of Mr. Markham, and understand their
“ contents. That gentleman will wait on you
“ in the afternoon, and explain particulars. Let
“ your mind be at rest, and do not conceive any
“ terror or apprehension.

“ To this I received the following reply :

“ No. VIII. Letter from the Rajah.

“ Your gracious letter has been received, and
“ has made me acquainted with your commands.
“ Your order that in the afternoon Mr. William
“ Markham will come to me, that I must not
“ suffer any apprehension to disturb me, but
“ remain at ease in my mind. My Protector,
“ wherever you spread your shadow over my
“ head, I am entirely free from concern and
“ apprehension ; and whatever you who are my
“ master shall as such determine, will be right.

“ At

" At this time I had prepared Mr. Markham's
 " second instructions; but before he could set out
 " with them, intelligence came that large bodies
 " of armed men had crossed the river from Ram-
 " nagur, and had proceeded to the Rajah's house.
 " What follows is a scene of such horror, that it
 " is with the greatest reluctance I submit to the
 " painful duty of relating it. The guard placed
 " over the Rajah consisted of two companies of
 " grenadier sepoy, as above mentioned, from
 " Major Popham's detachment, commanded by
 " the officers already named, who were stationed
 " in an enclosed square, which surrounded the
 " apartment where the Rajah was. The Resident's
 " guard had returned with him. It now appeared
 " that these troops had taken no ammunition with
 " them. Major Popham sent another company
 " of sepoy under an officer, with ammunition to
 " reinforce and support the first party. When
 " the latter arrived at the Rajah's house, they found
 " it surrounded, and all the avenues blockaded,
 " by a multitude of armed men, who opposed their
 " passage. The minds of this tumultuous assembly
 " becoming soon inflamed, some of them began to
 " fire upon the sepoy within the square, and im-
 " mediately, as if this had been the concerted sig-
 " nal, made an instantaneous and fierce attack on
 " the sepoy, who, wanting their accustomed
 " means of defence, were capable of making but
 " a feeble

" a feeble resistance, and fell an easy sacrifice to
" the superior number of their assailants, who cut
" almost every man of this unfortunate party to
" pieces. The officers, it is supposed, were the
" first victims to their fury, but not until they
" had, by astonishing efforts of bravery, and undif-
" mayed amidst the imminent dangers which sur-
" rounded them, involved a much superior num-
" ber of their enemies in their fate. In this gene-
" ral report of them all accounts concur, though
" varying in circumstances. I yield to my own
" feelings in bestowing this just but unavailing
" tribute to these unhappy gentlemen.

" In the midst of this confusion the Rajah
" found means to escape through a wicket which
" opened to the river; and the banks being ex-
" ceedingly steep in that place, he let himself down
" by turbans tied together, into a boat which was
" waiting for him, and conveyed him to the op-
" posite shore. Those who had effected his
" escape, followed him across the river in the
" same tumultuous manner in which they had
" assembled, leaving the party of our sepoy's which
" had last arrived in possession of the house. On
" the first intelligence of this commotion, I had
" directed Major Popham to repair immediately
" to his camp, which was about two miles from
" the Resident's, and at the same distance from
" the

“ the Rajah’s house, and to march instantly with the
 “ remainder of his detachment to the support of
 “ the party.

“ This order was executed with all possible ex-
 “ pedition ; but Major Popham arrived too late,
 “ and had the mortification to be a spectator of
 “ the effects of a massacre which he could neither
 “ prevent nor revenge. He returned to me im-
 “ mediately, and made the following report :

“ No. IX. Major POPHAM’S Report.

“ Consequent to an order for the detachment
 “ under my command to proceed to the support
 “ of the grenadier companies under the order of
 “ Lieut. Stalker, I carried it with as much expe-
 “ dition as possible to Cheit Sing’s palace, which
 “ I found to be entirely evacuated by the Rajah’s
 “ people, who were already landed on the oppo-
 “ site side of the river.

“ Of the two companies commanded by Lieut.
 “ Stalker, very few remained alive, and the ma-
 “ jority of those appeared to be severely wounded.
 “ The bodies of Lieuts. Stalker, Scott, and Simes,
 “ were lying within a small distance of each other,
 “ shockingly mangled, and without any signs of
 “ life.

“ It

" It may be necessary to observe, that Lieut.
 " Birrell was dispatched with one company of
 " sepoy's upon the first rumor of the Rajah's
 " coercive intentions; but the fate of the com-
 " panies which preceded him was decided prior
 " to his being able to enter the palace. There
 " were however some of the Rajah's people, whom
 " he effectually cleared it of. In his attack he
 " met with some loss. My utmost endeavours
 " have hitherto proved insufficient to procure an
 " exact detail of the killed and wounded in this
 " unfortunate transaction. I thought it necessary
 " to leave a company with a subaltern in the
 " palace."

(Signed)

WILLIAM POPHAM, Major."

" Benares, 16th of August, 1781,"

" I cannot learn with certainty what is be-
 " come of the Rajah, but the prevailing report is
 " that he fled from Ramnagar, his usual residence
 " on the other side of the river, in the middle of
 " the night, and proceeded with his Zenâna and
 " effects to Lutteefgur, a strong fort of his, situate
 " about 10 miles from Chunar. He was ac-
 " companied by Sujan Sing, his brother, and
 " Mannyar Sing, a relation, and son by adoption
 " of Rajah Bulwant Sing. He has also had the

“ precaution to take with him Ranny Golah-
 “ koower, the widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing his
 “ father; her son in law, Dwegbijey Sing; and
 “ his two sons, her grandsons. In them he
 “ possesses every member of his family who can
 “ have any plea to dispute with him the right of
 “ inheritance from his father Rajah Bulwant
 “ Sing, if that were ever a question, his right to
 “ the Zemidarry being derived exclusively from
 “ Sunnuds which his father never possessed, but
 “ which were first granted to Cheit Sing by the
 “ late Vizier Suja ul Dowla through the influence
 “ of our Government in 1773, and since repeated
 “ by similar grants from our Government, when
 “ the sovereignty was ceded to the Company by
 “ the present Nabob Affof ul Dowla.

“ I have made choice of Bauboo Ooffaun
 “ Sing, who held the office of Dewan during se-
 “ veral years of the life of Rajah Bulwant Sing,
 “ and for a considerable period since the accession
 “ of the present Rajah, to administer the revenues
 “ and Government of this country in the quality
 “ of Naib, until it can be determined to whom
 “ the Zemidarry may legally belong, and who
 “ may be in a capacity to receive it.

“ To this effect I have caused a proclamation
 “ to be made through the city of Benares, and
 “ have

" have notified it by circular perwannahs to all
" the zemindars and aumils of the Zemidarry.

" To enforce the execution of these acts, to
" maintain tranquility and order in the country,
" and protect the inhabitants, I have ordered one
" battalion of sepoys from Chunargur, the re-
" mainder of Major Popham's detachment from
" Mirzapore, and one regiment of sepoys from
" Dinapore to march immediately to Benares.

" The detail of these proceedings shall be
" transmitted to you in a subsequent letter. I do
" not expect they will detain me here much be-
" yond the time I had prescribed to myself, which
" was about 7 or 8 days.

" I have the honor to be, with the greatest
" esteem,

" SIR,

" Your most obedient

" Humble Servant,

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS."

" P. S. The delay occasioned in copying this
" letter from its great length has afforded me an
" opportunity of contradicting the latter part of
" it; and I have now the satisfaction to add, that

" Ranny

“ Ranny Golabkoower, together with her son in
 “ law Durgbijey Sing, and his two sons, are safe
 “ at Benares. I have this morning received a
 “ visit from Durgbijey Sing, and his eldest son
 “ Mehipnarain.”

I have read over the preceding letter with great attention, but can find nothing in it, with the advantage of recent and better means of information, to correct; nor do I know that it requires a comment. That which I am now about to make may appear trivial; but I make it as it impels me by its present impression. The Rajah, in his reply to the charges which I had preferred against him, insists much on the many letters which he wrote to me, praying to be dispensed from his obedience to the orders of Government, and my neglect to answer them; and this charge against me he repeats in a manner not the most respectful. I do not know but it may be true. He had received positive orders, and those had been repeated. It was his duty to obey them, not to waste my time with letters of excuse, to cavil with my answers for evasions, or with my silence for delays. His Vakeel was in daily attendance on me, and knew my mind sufficiently upon these subjects; and what he knew I am sure he wrote to his master. As to his plea of inability to pay the residue of the subsidy “ without pre-
 “ paration;”

paration," that is, without contriving the means to raise the money, after having sacredly promised the full and instant discharge of it, it was as insolent, as we now know too surely, that it was most egregiously false.

It was truly reported that Cheit Sing, after his escape from Shewallah Gaut, immediately fled to Lutteefpoor, taking his family, and his whole force with him, except the ordinary guard which had been early appropriated in the time of his father, Bulwant Sing, under the command of Gudgerauge Sing, who had the title of Kellidar, to the charge of Ramnagur. This was a vast pile of irregular but massy buildings constructed of stone, on the river side, and within the bed of the river. To its original strength Cheit Sing had added some small bastions of stone and earth. A large town had grown round it, which rendered the approach to it suspicious; and the intricacy of the apartments and passages of the palace was such, that a cautious officer would hesitate under almost any encouragement to enter it. I had early information that it was in effect evacuated, and I believed it; but not being certain, I did not chuse to hazard a repulse, nor had I force equal to any operation of doubtful success, much less of enterprize. My whole strength had consisted originally of six
companies

companies of Major Popham's regiment, about sixty sepoy's which I had taken from the garrison of Buxar for the protection of my boats, and a few men who had been newly recruited for the Resident's guard, who had yet neither arms nor discipline. Of Major Popham's regiment eighty-two men had fallen in the massacre of Shewallah Gaut, and ninety-two were wounded. The whole number of killed and wounded of every corps and denomination, was two hundred and five. Every circumstance of an event and time so critical to the present existence and permanency of the British interests in India will merit notice in a relation of this kind. If Cheit Sing's people, after they had effected his rescue, had proceeded to my quarters at Mahdoodass's garden, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous manner, as they did, in his passage over the river, it is most probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carnage; for they were above two thousand in number, furious and daring from the easy success of their last attempt: nor could I assemble more than fifty regular and armed sepoy's for my whole defence. Let it not be thought that I attribute too much consequence to my own person when I suppose the fate of the British empire in India connected with it. Mean as its substance may

may be, its accidental properties were equivalent to those which, like the magical characters of a Talisman in the Arabian Mythology, formed the essence of the State itself; representation, title, and the estimate of public opinion. Such a stroke as that which I have supposed would have been universally considered as decisive of the national fate: every State around it would have started into arms against it; and every subject of its own dominion would, according to their several abilities, have become its enemy. What really passed approaching to such an effect, from the sole apprehension of such a cause, more than warrants the conclusion of what would have followed the cause itself, had it existed.

The effects of the first consternation having subsided, a number of men, reputed two thousand, returned to Ramnagur on the 18th, under the command of Ramjeewaun, a confidential and domestic Chief of the family.

The remainder of Major Popham's detachment, consisting of four companies of sepoy, one company of Artillery, and the company of French Rangers, lay at Mirzapore.

These were ordered to march immediately to Ramnagur, Lieutenant-colonel Blair was ordered

to detach a battalion of sepoy's from the garrison of Chunar on the same destination. It was intended, that as soon as these corps had joined, and were properly equipped for service, Major Popham should take the command, and proceed against the forces quartered in Ramnagur. I wrote an order express to Captain Blair, who commanded the battalion from Chunar, commanding him to halt at a secure distance from Ramnagur, and wait for further orders; and Major Popham, whom I had afterwards vested with the command in form, wrote a similar order to Captain Mayaffre, the officer commanding the residue of his detachment, with an additional caution to avoid hostilities, and attend to the safety of the whole party, of which, being a senior officer, he would have the command till Major Popham assumed it. To ensure the success of his operations on that side, he had chosen a convenient and open plain on the shore opposite to Ramnagur for a battery of two mortars, which were expected from Chunar, nor can there be a doubt, that a place so peculiarly ill formed for such a mode of attack, and in no state of defence against a wary assailant, would have proved an easy conquest. Unhappily, the ill-timed ambition of a rash individual defeated this plan, and had nearly caused the destruction of the whole party. Captain Mayaffre unwilling, as it appears,

appears, for no other possible motive can be ascribed to so precipitate and irregular a conduct, to lose the opportunity which his present and casual command afforded him, of acquiring a military reputation, without plan, without enquiry, against the advice of his officers, and against order, ordered the detachment to march into the narrow lanes of the town, where they were opposed by the fire of an enemy surrounding them unseen; and the party which entered were in an instant annihilated rather than defeated. Twenty-three men of the corps of Rangers, with their commander, Captain Doxat, who led the attack, were killed, and ten wounded. The first battalion of the sixth regiment of Sepoys, commanded by Captain Blair, which followed, lost fifty-seven killed, and forty-one wounded. The whole loss sustained in all the corps was, one hundred and seven killed, and seventy-two wounded. Captain Mayaffre was killed. The detachment instantly retreated. The retreat appears to have been conducted by Captain Blair, and in a manner that did him much credit. The enemy pursued with little effect, their numbers gradually lessening, till the detachment arrived within four miles of Chunar, which it regained the same evening.

This unfortunate affair happened on the morning of the 20th of August.

I considered myself now as plunged in a decided war, and made every provision both for its speedy termination, and its confinement to the scene in which it had opened.

Orders were written and dispatched in multiplied copies to the different military stations for assistance, to the Resident of the Vizier's Court for a supply of treasure, and to Lieutenant-colonel Blair for an instant reinforcement. The Very few reached their destination, the communication with every quarter being intercepted, and all the country in arms against us; and our emissaries, unused to this dangerous service either made prisoners, or not daring to execute it, and secreting their dispatches. Two of my letters reached Colonel Blair, who ordered Captain M'Dougal, with the second battalion of the sixth regiment, to march on the next day, which was the 21st, to Benares. I now passed an interval, like that of a dead calm preceding a violent storm, and fraught with all the symptoms of its certain approach. Successive notices were brought to me by various channels of preparations making at Ramnagur for an assault on my quarters, which stood in the midst of the suburbs of Benares, and consisted of many detached buildings within one large enclosure, surrounded

rounded by houses and trees, which intercepted every other prospect. The whole force which I had left amounted to about four hundred and fifty men. The reports of an intended assault, which was fixed for that night, grew stronger as the day advanced. The boats on the other side of the river were seen to be in motion; and besides the moral certainty of the real existence of such a design, the obvious advantages which it presented to the enemy, who had nothing left to fear and nothing else to do, precluded all hesitation, but on the choice of expedients for defeating it. There were but two; which were, to wait the danger and try the chances of repelling it, or to retreat to a place of greater security, or of equal advantage for the encounter. The confined state of the place, of which any description will be insufficient to convey an adequate idea, rendered the first plan impracticable. We had not a force sufficient to guard all the defences of the place, nor a store for the provisions of a day, even for that small number. The only arguments for it were, the disgrace of a flight, and the consideration of our wounded sepoys, whom it might leave at the discretion of a merciless enemy. The former consideration yielded to the superior weight of necessity; the latter to the impossibility of protecting the wounded men in either case, as they were quartered at the distance
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of near a mile from Mahoodas's Garden ; nor would it have been possible in their condition, and in the multiplicity of pressing exigencies which the resolution to remain would have created, to remove them. Yet these considerations held me suspended during the whole course of the day. In the evening it became necessary to come to a final determination, as the delay of a few hours might now preclude every option. I consulted Major Popham. He declared the defence of the place impossible, and advised a retreat to Chunar. There were other field officers with me. I asked for their opinions separately. They clearly and unhesitatingly agreed in the same advice. My opinion had been determined from the instant I received the certain information of Captain Mayaffre's defeat. I had not yet received the news of Capt. M'Dougal's march, nor any answer to the letters which I had written to Lieutenant-colonel Blair for a reinforcement, nor could I know whether these had reached him. I yielded to the reluctance of a few minutes. My resolution was taken and declared, and orders given to form our little corps, that we might have time to gain the open country before the enemy, having notice of the design, could cross and attack us at the disadvantage of the streets, lanes, and broken ground which we had to pass before we could reach it. These orders were
issued

issued between seven and eight o'clock; and by eight the line was in motion, having been much retarded and impeded by an incredible tumult of servants, palankeens, and baggage of every denomination, which, for a time, threatened a total obstruction to our march. Fortunately this enormous mass took the wrong road, which left the right with a free and undisturbed passage for the sepoy. On the way we passed Captain McDougal's battalion about nine o'clock. We sent him timely notice of our movement; he turned and joined us. Early the next morning we arrived at Chunar.

It is proper to mention, that as soon as I had formed my resolution to leave Benares, I sent my Moonshy to the Nabob Saadut Ally Cawn to recommend the wounded sepoy to his care, believing that the Rajah, from a consideration of policy, would not chuse to molest them, especially as he could have no motive or object to it but revenge, if he would shew a determined resolution to protect them. The same request I made to him in writing, after my arrival at Chunar. I owe him the justice to attest, that he faithfully and liberally complied with my request. He visited them himself, and furnished them with provisions and with money, and appointed native surgeons to attend them; and, as they
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were able to bear it, he caused them all to be removed to his own quarters.

Many reports and suspicions have prevailed of his being concerned in some of the designs which were formed against us. I can neither credit nor refute them. The evil imputed to him is at best doubtful. The good which he did is certain, and he is entitled to the entire merit of it.

I avail myself of this repose in my narrative to relate another instance of private merit in Beneram Pundit, the Vakeel or Minister of the Rajah of Berar, and his brother Bissumber Pundit. These persons had come to pay their customary attendance at my quarters about the time that the line was already on the march. They immediately joined it. Some time after I saw and spoke to them, expressing some concern to find them in that situation. They were on foot without a single servant or attendant. I suffered them to accompany me till we came to the plain and halted. I then thanked them for the proof which they had shewn of their attachment, with which I was satisfied, and desired them to return, as they had a large family in Benares, which would be exposed by their continuance with me to the resentment of Cheit Sing, and perhaps to the worst effects of it; nor
could

could they by their presence afford me any service which could repay what I myself should feel of compunction for suffering them to be exposed to such hazards. They refused me in a peremptory manner, without compliment, or the ostentation of performing meritorious service, and persisted, although I as peremptorily insisted on their return. I then desired that the elder brother, who was corpulent and of a constitution less equal to fatigue, would return, and the youngest only remain; but could not prevail. A few days after my arrival at Chunar, I casually mentioned to them my distress for provisions, which was occasioned principally by the want of money; for such was our total loss of credit, that we could not raise a sufficiency even for the ordinary wants of our small detachment; and it was with great difficulty, and a degree of violence, that Lieutenant-colonel Blair extorted from the Shroffs of Chunar, who had lived and grown opulent under the protection of the garrison, the small sum of two thousand five hundred rupees, which was distributed among all the sepoy, and afforded a satisfactory relief. Beneram Pundit immediately, and with an eagerness which belonged to his character, told me, that he had a lack of rupees, in ready money, lying in his house at Benares, which I might take, if I could find any means to receive and

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convey it to Chunar; and the youngest brother advised, as the simplest expedient, to send a battalion of sepoy for that purpose, which could easily go and return without interruption, as there were no troops stationed near the town on that side of the river, offering to accompany it himself, and to bring away the money. I rejected this proposal for an obvious reason, and preferred the trial of the means which the Shroffs are supposed to practice for the conveyance of money on such occasions. I accepted a draught on their family for the sum, payable to Contoo Bauboo, my Dewan, who had been left in Benares, and sent it enclosed in a letter to him, with directions to concert with Gopaul Doss the means of conveying it to Chunar. This proved ineffectual; Contoo Bauboo could not be found, Gopaul Doss was seized (I forget at what exact period of time) and sent a prisoner to Lutteespoor, and in a short time after Contoo Bauboo was also secured and conveyed to the same place of confinement. I was obliged therefore to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which never happened while I remained at Chunar. After my return to Benares, Beneram again repeated the offer, I accepted it, and received the whole amount on the instant, giving him a note in the Company's name, and in the usual form for the same.

Examples

Examples of fidelity and national attachment merit the first reward of being recorded. In me, it is a duty, both of public and private obligation, to relate what I have related. Their merit is national, for under whatever impressions their assistance was offered, its object was the national service; nor can my person, in such an instance, be separated from my public character.

On the 20th or 21st, I forget which, I received a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, filled with expressions of slight concern for what had passed, and professions, but indefinite and unapplied, of fidelity. I did not think it becoming to make any reply to it, and I think I ordered the bearer of the letter to be told that it required none.

On the morning of the 21st, a person came to Mr. Richard Johnson, who was one of my party, and desired his interposition with me to receive a letter and messenger from the Rajah in the evening, with proposals for an accommodation. The like application was made by Mirza Abdoola Beg, the Rajah's Vakeel, to my Dewan Contoo Bauboo, and with my permission Contoo Bauboo returned to his own house in the evening to meet the Vakeel by appointment for that purpose, by which means he missed the opportunity of going off with me, the intelligence of my intention

reaching him too late for him to join me, or his infirm state of body not admitting of his taking so hastily a resolution. The substance of the message, as it has been since delivered to me by Abdoola Beg in writing, was to exculpate himself from any concern in what had passed, which he charged to the insolent behaviour of a servant of the Resident, who was present, and the resentment of his own people, and to profess his obedience and submission to my will in whatever way I should dictate.

I regarded this as an artifice to gain time, since the message, whatever were the substance of it, might as easily have been delivered in the morning as in the evening, and the messenger might have obtained an easy access to me without the intrigue and mystery of secret and indirect applications.

I have been since confirmed in this opinion by the two following anecdotes, and their exact coincidence with the design to which I attribute that just recited.

On the morning of the 21st, while preparations were making to cross Capt. M'Dougal's battalion, three men, two strangers, and all volunteers, went successively to Col. Blair with intelligence

ligence that a design was formed to escalate the fort of Chunar with a numerous force on that night, and an earnest caution that he should not diminish the strength of his garrison.

The intelligence and advice delivered by each were expressed nearly in the same words. When Captain M'Dougal's battalion was on the road, three men, strangers and volunteers like the former, came to him successively with intelligence that a large body of armed men lay in wait to intercept him at a village called Beetaburr, and warned him not to proceed. He proceeded, but did not meet a man. Lieut. Col. Blair caused a more than ordinary watch to be kept on that night in the fort, but not a man appeared to attack it. Not one of these emissaries has ever been seen since.

As it had been my original intention to make but a short stay at Benares, the Nabob Vizier, in the expectation of my visit, had already left his capital, and advanced to a short distance to meet me. I considered that his presence would prove of much service by its influence on our credit, and his troops, rabble as they were, might serve to keep the country in awe, and to divide the attention of the enemy. But these advantages would invert the relation of our alliance, and give him a superiority in our meeting, which would
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defeat the purposes of it; besides that, I did not think it consistent with the dignity of our government to employ a foreign aid for the suppression of a rebellion of its own subjects. I therefore wrote a letter to the Nabob, requesting him to return to Lucknow, and remain there until I should have leisure from the actual disturbances to prosecute my original journey. The Nabob refused to comply with this injunction, and on the first intimation of my difficulties resolved to join me; and he executed this purpose with such apparent earnestness, that he made his first stages with no other attendance than about 100 horse, and about four companies of his body guard, with his usual domestic attendants. As soon as I was informed of this, to remove any unfavourable impression of my former letter under the construction of distrust, I wrote another to the Nabob, expressing the warmest sense of such a testimony of his attention, apologizing for what I had before written from an unwillingness to involve him in a scene of trouble, and expressing my desire to see him at Chunar, according to his own wishes.

In the mean time I had received several intimations imputing evil designs to the Nabob, and warning me to guard myself against them, and especially to be careful that I did not expose myself to the effects of concealed treachery, by visiting
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him without a strong guard. Many circumstances favoured this suspicion. No sooner had the rebellion of this Zemidarry manifested itself, than its contagion instantly flew to Fyzabad, and the extensive territory lying on the North of the River Dewa, and known by the names of Gooruckpoor, and Bareech. In the city of Fyzabad, Nawaub Allea and Junaaby Allea, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob, openly espoused the party of Cheit Sing, encouraging and inviting people to lift for his service, and their servants took up arms against the English. Two battalions of regular sepoy's in the Vizier's service, under the command of Lieut. Col. Hannay, who had been entrusted with the charge of that district, were attacked and surrounded in various places, many of them cut to pieces, and Col. Hannay himself, encompassed by multitudes, narrowly escaped the same fate. The Nabob Vizier was charged with being privy to the intrigues which had produced and fomented these disturbances; and the little account that he seemed to make of them served to countenance the suspicion. I can truly say for myself, that I never afforded it the slightest degree of credit: neither his character, the tenor of his past conduct, the expectations which I knew he entertained of assistance and relief from myself, nor his inability to support himself without the protection of our government, allowing me for a moment.

moment to entertain a thought so injurious to his fidelity, and so contrary to probability; yet I was not perfectly free from apprehensions similar to such a suggestion. The Nabob was surrounded by men base in their characters, and improvident in their understandings, his favourites and the companions of his looser hours. These had every cause to dread the effect of my influence on theirs; and both these, and the relations of the family, whose views of consequence and power were intercepted by our participation in the administration of his affairs, entertained a mortal hatred to our nation, and openly avowed it. These all joined in prescribing the most pernicious and fatal counsels to the Nabob, representing this as the time to deliver himself from what they described as the yoke of servitude. Although he firmly rejected all their persuasions, and I was assured of it, yet he himself was at their mercy, and it was in their power to use both his authority and his person for the perpetration of their own designs; nor could I use any precaution to avoid them, which would not appear to proceed from a distrust of the Nabob himself. I never communicated my apprehensions, nor acted from them, and had the satisfaction of receiving the Nabob, of maintaining an intercourse with him, with every mark of the most secure and mutual confidence; and of
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parting with him with every demonstration of mutual satisfaction.

I had before written to Col. Morgan for assistance. I now repeated the order; and as the issue of a war, begun with such disadvantages on our side, and with the total loss of the country, was doubtful, I added an order to follow with his whole force, with another to Col. Sir John Cumming who commanded at Futtehgur, to supply his place at Cawnpoor. I considered that if we were successful with a less exertion, it would be easy to countermand these orders before the troops could have advanced far in the execution of them; but if we failed of success, and such orders were not sent, it might be too late to issue them with any hope of effect from them, or even of their being received; since the communication, which was now very difficult and uncertain, might then be absolutely precluded. None of my letters reached Col. Morgan till he had taken his resolution. Reports were conveyed to him of my situation and past misadventures. The sudden failure of intelligence convinced him of the truth of what he heard; and justly concluding that orders had been sent which had been stopped in their way to him, he at once resolved to execute their supposed and obvious purport, and detached a force superior to that which I had required to

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my assistance. It consisted of two regiments of sepoy, thirty European artillery men, and two companies of the European regiments, with four six pounders, one howitz, tumbrils, ammunition, draft and carriage cattle. For the greater expedition, he ordered this detachment to proceed by water. The zeal of the officers, so well seconded that of their commander, that although it appears that the Resolution was taken on the 29th, the whole were embarked, and in *movement*, on the 31st of the month. Major Crabb commanded the detachment.

A long interval of time, which acquired its full measure, from the magnitude of the events which were expected to grow out of it, and their uncertain production, passed in total ignorance of the success of the various orders which had been dispatched, and of the succours which might be preparing for us. One-half of the province of Owd, was in a state of as complete rebellion as that of Benares. Huttah Shaw had invaded Sircar Sârun, in our own province, of Bahar, supported by supplies of money, and encouraged with promises of more from Cheit Sing: Many of the Zemindars of Bahar, had discovered symptoms of disaffection; and reports were made to me of levies of men openly entertained for the enemy, from our subjects in that province. Even
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the wretched subjects of Napal, dared to seize, by force, some villages, to which they had a claim, and had sometime before supplicated the attention of our government towards it. In my impatience for advices, I dreaded that every packet would bring a fresh accumulation to our distresses, and the news of commotion in every quarter. At this period, a letter found its way to me from Colonel Muir, who commanded the army employed against Madajee Sindia, informing me of overtures made by that chief for a separate peace. This had been one of the objects of my journey to this quarter; but eagerly as I had sought such an event, I was proportionably mortified to learn with what facility it might have been accomplished, and how unseasonably our domestic misfortunes had happened to defeat so fair a prospect of it. I had no money or credit, equal to the supply of 3000 rupees; and by an unfortunate train of official perplexities, which had happened some time preceding this, both Major Popham's regiment, the Rangers, and all the corps of the garrison of Chunar, were four months in *arrears*. This was our situation.

What force could be spared from the garrison of Chunar, added to Major Popham's regiment, was formed into a detachment under his command, and encamped on a plain about a mile to

the eastward of Chunar. The greatest strength of the enemy was collected at Pateeta, about seven miles from Chunar, in the same direction.

On the 27th of August, Lieutenant Polhill arrived with six companies of sepoy's belonging to the Nabob Vizer's body guard, stationed at Allahabad. He was ordered to encamp on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of keeping our communication open with the shore. On the 29th, he attacked and defeated a considerable body of troops, under the command of a principal chief, named Shaub Cawn; who was stationed at a small fort and town, called Seeker, within sight of Chunar. The advantages gained by this success were the removal of that part of enemy, and the acquisition of a considerable booty in grain, which had been the object of the enterprize.

On the 3d of September, Major Popham detached Captain Blair, with his battalion, and two companies of his own grenadiers, to surprize the camp at Pateeta. They marched at three in the morning, and arrived at the ground by daylight, but found it abandoned, and the enemy waiting for them in complete order, at about a mile beyond it. A bloody action ensued, in which the enemy, as might be expected from
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men flushed with recent successes, fought with a desperate intrepidity. Our sepoy's began to break into disorder, when by a well-timed and successful attack of the enemy's guns by the two companies of grenadiers, headed by Lieutenants Fallon and Birrell, the fortune of the day turned in our favour, and the field was left in our possession, with four guns and four tumbrils. One of the guns, its carriage being broken, was spiked and left. The other three, with one of the tumbrils, loaded with as much ammunition as it could carry, were brought away. The other three tumbrils, with two hundred maunds of loose powder, were blown up. About 1500 round shot of different weight, and mostly hammered, were found, and left in a village adjacent.

Our loss in the action, was very great: We had 48 men killed, and 85 wounded. That of the enemy was unknown, but must have been considerable. Their guns were well served, and it was from their execution that we principally suffered. It was remarkable that they had all the apparatus of our artillery, such as port fires, tubes, chain and quilted grape shot, &c. equal, or nearly equal, to the production of an European laboratory. Samples of each kind will be sent to the Board. Their artillery did
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not answer to the quality of the stores. One gun was of modern cast, and with its carriage, which was not bad, said to have been made at Ramnagur. The others were of a very old cast and construction, and their carriages bad and much worn. This was the general character of all the ordnance taken in the course of the war.

Dearly as this victory was purchased, with the expenditure of one-fourth of the party, it was yet a victory, ascertained and acknowledged, and had its due effect of impressing the enemy with discouragement, and our own men with confidence; and it was an earnest of our future success in the public opinion, which is, at all times, of high importance to our political influence, and was especially so at this, in which the minds of all men were suspended, for the decision of the part which they were to take, either in the immediate contest, or in their own conduct as dependent on it.

I must not omit in this place, an instance of vengeance which marks the sanguinary character of Cheit Sing, and too strongly proves, that if the other excesses committed by his people, were not authorized by his express order, they
were

were perpetrated under the influence of his example, and the knowledge of his inclination.

Fourteen men of the corps of Rangers, had been left sick at Mirzapoor, when the remainder of Major Popham's detachment marched under the command of Captain Mayaffre to Ramnagar. They were made prisoners and sent to Lutteefpoor. They arrived there on the 3d of September, about the same time that news was received of Captain Blair's action at Pateeta, which happened on that morning. What provocation they gave, or whether any, is not known. It is surmised, but I know not the authority, that one of these unhappy men expressed a joy on hearing that our arms had been successful. They were all butchered on the spot, and almost in the immediate presence of the Rajah, except one man, who made a shift to crawl with a mangled body to the neighbouring woods, where he subsisted for a few days; returned to the fort, received mercy, and is still living and in our camp. The particulars of this massacre have been since verified with some unessential variations from my relation of it, in an affidavit of the survivor, which will be annexed.

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On the 10th of September, at about seven in the morning, Major Crabb's detachment appeared on the opposite shore. It consisted of the corps already related. It had proceeded as far as Illahabad by water, but been much retarded in its course by strong and adverse winds ; on which account, the course of the river also winding very much between Illahabad and Chunar, Major Crabb had prudently disembarked the men and stores, and marched them by the high road, remanding the boats to Cawnpoor, whither, indeed, their return would have been impracticable, had they passed the boundary of this Zemidarry.

Major Roberts, with his regiment, and a lack of rupees in silver, arrived on the 13th of September from Lucknow, to which place, as I have before related, he had been ordered to repair for the guard of my person, in my intended visit to that capital. A further supply of fifty thousand rupees was a few days after received from the Nabob's Aumil of Illahabad.

The money was immediately distributed among all the troops in equal proportions ; and by satisfying their wants, facilitated Major Popham's preparatives for the commencement of active operations.

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I have a pleasure in testifying that, distressed as the sepoys had been for the want of money, they had never manifested the least symptom of discontent. I had frequently visited the camp, and passed the lines each time in review. Once, and only once, I heard one or two voices of complaint, but neither clamorous nor disrespectful.

On the 11th, the Nabob Vizier arrived at his encampment, which had been formed on the opposite shore. I chose to make him the first visit, which was performed on the same morning, and was returned by him on the next.

Hyder Beg, the Nabob's second Minister, arrived at the same time. He had been deputed early to meet me at Benares, and had arrived there about two days after my departure from it. Instead of following me to Chunar, he had suffered himself to be detained by Lalla Bucherauge, the Shroff, who had promised to accompany him with a supply of money. In the mean time, a sudden and great swell of the river rendered the Burna Nulla, behind which he was encamped, impassable. The Rajah's people, at the same time, carried away all the boats; and after a long and fruitless negotiation with them for an unmolested passage, which he did not think it prudent to attempt at the hazard of an opposition, he

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at length did attempt it, and met none. His indecision on this occasion, furnished ground for various suppositions; but I knew, and had assurances from a person in my suite, who had taken refuge with him and acquired his confidence, and on whose authority I could implicitly rely, that they were wholly devoid of foundation. I had a pleasing and incontrovertible evidence of his fidelity, soon after the conclusion of our troubles, in a letter which Captain Blair picked up at Lutteefpoor, and which I shall add to the appendix; not merely as a justification of that Minister, but as a relief to the dry and unentertaining materials with which it is associated, if it shall convey the same opinion of the good sense of the writer to other minds, as it has done to mine.

On the 15th, Lieutenant Polhill crossed and joined Major Popham's camp. The whole detachment now consisted of the following strength, viz.

1 company of European grenadiers, commanded by Captain Grant.			
1 ditto	ditto	light infantry	ditto Capt. Harrison.
1 ditto	French Rangers		ditto Lieut. Wade.
30 European artillery men			ditto Capt. Hill.
1 regiment of sepoys	the	7th	ditto Major Crabb,
1 ditto	-	-	19th ditto Major Balfour.
1 ditto	-	-	30th ditto Major Roberts.
1 ditto	-	-	35th ditto Major Popham.
1 battalion, the 1st of the 6th regiment			ditto Captain Blair.
6 companies of the Nabob's body guards			ditto Lieut. Polhill

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The following is a catalogue of Cheit Sing's whole force, which has been since delivered to me by one of his principal officers; and as it made a part of the affidavit, I admit it and credit it as genuine. It is certainly not exaggerated.

LIST of the established forces in the service of Cheit Sing,
Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlock men, &c. &c.

Cavalry	—	—	—	—	1700
Select troops or body guards, horse and foot					700
Sepoys	—	—	—	—	1150
Matchlock men	—	—	—	—	1800
Attached to Bullum Dafs, horse 300, foot 500					800
With Shujan Sing, cavalry and infantry, 500					
with two guns, Sepoys and artillery men, 340					840
With Munnear Sing, cavalry and infantry —					700
Total established troops					7690

Troops entertained after the arrival of Cheit
Sing, at Luteespore

First, entertained at Luteespore, Matchlock and

Sword men	—	—	—	—	2000
Second, Nujjeeb Sword men, from Lucknow					1000
Total					3000

Troops assembled from different places, horse

and foot, with Jugger Deave Sing — — 500

Matchlock men arrived with Bukht Sing, by order, from the Rajah — — 1200

With Gomaun Sing, sent for by the Rajah,
Matchlock men — — — 500

From the Fowjdar of Biddevi arrived, Matchlock men — — — 1000

Raje Poots, of the tribe of Rugbunse, from Kurraukut — — — 3000

Arrived with Dullun Sing, Foujdar of Muká-			
run, Badshahpoor Matchlocks	—	—	1500
Cavalry and infantry, arrived with Ruzza Cooli			
Khan from Mirzapoor	—	—	300
Rajepoots collected from Agoree and Purwah,			
by Dia Lutchoo	—	—	500
Of the tribe or cast of Kammaur, collected by			
Shujan Sing	—	—	1000
Sword and Matchlock men with Ramjeewawm			2000
Total troops in the service of Cheit Sing	—		22190

To which are to be added husbandmen and adventurers, who took up arms voluntarily, making the foregoing number amount to near forty thousand.

These forces were divided between Lutteefpoor, Pateetah, and Ramnagur. The best reputed of them were at Pateetah, and the great Mafs composing the last corps, with a part of the others, at Lutteefpoor with the Rajah, who had fixed his residence at that place since his flight from Shewallah Gaut.

Before I proceed, it may not be improper to state the resource on which he, not very unreasonably, depended for lengthening the war, if not for success in the course of it.

First, his fortresses; of which there are many, and some of considerable extent and strength, erected in various parts of the Zemidarry. Of these

these the two principal are Bidjeygur and Luteefpoor. Ramnagar scarcely deserves to be named with them, and Pateetah has been rendered considerable, only by its having been a capital scene of opposition and of our victories.

Bidjeygur is a fort erected on the solid rock, of a hill rising to the height of 745 perpendicular feet from the level ground. It lies about fifty miles in a south-east direction from Chunar. It was the depository of all his and his father's treasures.

Luteefpoor is a large fort built with stone, and surrounded by hills, and either from neglect or design, obstructed from distant view by trees and thick shrubs surrounding it. It lies about 14 miles eastward from Chunar.

Pateetah is a very large town, surrounded by a rampart of earth, extending to a great distance beyond it to the hills adjoining. The fort itself is a small square house of stone, itself fortified with four round towers, and enclosed with a high rampart, and a ditch, which is in most parts broad and deep. Its greatest advantage against an enemy, to whom delay was defeat, was, that it was invisible to its assailants.

Ramnagar has been described already. The other forts, whatever their consequence under a different

different train of successes might have been, are of none to the events of this narrative.

His next great resource was his wealth, on which he looked, and thought himself invincible, an expression which I borrow from one of the meanest of his dependants. It is credibly affirmed, that he inherited from his father, Bulwant Sing, a complete crore of rupees, to which it is believed that he made considerable additions.

The distresses of our government, and the power and number of its enemies, may also be reckoned, though negative, yet amongst his resources. The rest were delusory, which the false and violent counsels of his brother, Shujan Sing, and his buxey Saddanund, imposed on his inexperience, and the pliancy and aptitude of his disposition.

It would break the attention, and perplex the thread of the narrative, to relate every distinct event in its exact order of time. I have therefore in the minuter points, endeavoured rather to arrange them according to their relation to the greater, or to find a place for them in the vacant intervals and pauses of it. It may be proper in this place to mention, that during the time of inaction, which succeeded to my arrival at Chunar, I received several letters from Cheit Sing, besides
letters

letters from Mr. Barnet, and one from Contoo Baboo, who were both his prisoners at Luteefpoor, which were written by his order. These were all alike in substance, containing acknowledgments and professions of his submission to my authority, assertions of his own innocence, charging the massacre of Shewallah to the Chobdar, whose insults provoked the resentment of his servants, whom he could not restrain; and claim a merit from his having in the three past actions been the suffering part, though successful, and in none the aggressor; adding general offers of accommodation, and in the letters written by his order, a pompous display of his inexhaustible wealth, the multitude and bravery of his forces, and the devoted affection and fidelity of all his subjects. I refused to answer them, letting him know that they were written with too much presumption, in the style of equality, and with inapplicable professions, which were no better than none. Some of these letters will appear in the appendix. The rest were lost.

It had been intended to begin our operations with the attack of Ramnagur; partly because it had been the scene of our first disgrace, and principally because the repossession of the capital, which would follow the capture of Ramnagur, would, it was thought, redeem our credit with the public, and be deemed equivalent in the distant

distant reports of it, to the complete recovery of our authority over the country; as the existence of a fugitive chief in the wilds and mountains would be little regarded, when he was expelled from the capital of his government, and the seat of his collections. For this purpose, battering cannon and mortars were ordered to Major Popham's camp, and every other preparative made for a siege. This caused the delay of some days. In the mean time, a man named Bundoo Cawn, a native and inhabitant of the town of Chunar, gave information that, as the Rajah's force was principally collected at Lutteefpoor and Pateetah, and was daily accumulating, it would become exceedingly difficult to dislodge him, if he was allowed to gain too great strength there, by a process of detailed and consecutive operations; that the approaches both to Pateetah and Luteefpoor were strongly guarded, and especially those of Luteefpoor, which he described as unassailable, but with a great and certain loss, on this side, the only road to it lying through Pateetah; and even if carried, untenable from the strength of the pass behind it, of which the enemy would keep possession in defiance of all our efforts, and against any superiority of numbers. This pass takes its name from the adjacent village of Suckroot. He advised a divided plan of attack to be executed at the same point of time; one on the fort of Pateetah, the other

other on the pass of Suckroot; of which our forces coming on it by surprize, it being unguarded and easier of access from above, might easily obtain possession, and by that means gain the same advantage over the garrison of Luteespoor, as that would have over us, if we first took possession of the fort; with the command of every road of communication, if, which he did not doubt, we succeeded against Pateetah. He offered to conduct the party which should be destined on the service against the pass of Suckroot, by a road unfrequented and unknown, which he described with a minute, and, as it has since appeared, correct detail. The confidence with which he spoke, and the consistency of his assertions and reasonings upon them, acquired a great additional strength from his former recent conduct. He had accompanied Captain Blair in both actions of Ramnagur and Pateeta, and had been very serviceable to that officer by his knowledge of the ground, and by his advice in the application of it. His service on both occasions had been gratuitous, nor did he profess any motive for that which he now offered, but the interest and safety of a large family which depended on our success.

Major Popham at once saw the propriety of his advice, and adopted it. The evening of the

15th, was appointed for the first execution of the plan. In the mean time, it was concealed with the most profound secrecy. As a security for the fidelity and steadiness of Bundoo Cawn, he had a promise of a jagheer in perpetuity for himself and family, if the enterprize succeeded. This engagement has been since amply performed. Major Popham formed his army into two divisions, one destined for the more distant enterprize, and commanded by Major Crabb. It consisted of the 7th regiment, Major Crabb's; the 1st battalion of the 6th regiment; Lieutenant Polhill's six companies of the Nabob's body guard; four six-pounders, and a five and half-inch howitz. These corps were told off, and began their march about eleven that night. Major Popham began his march with the other division at about three o'clock in the morning to Paeteetah.

On his arrival there he found the works much stronger, and the approach more hazardous, than he had expected from the description which had been given of the place. He applied for the two battering cannon and the mortars which had been originally intended for the attack of Ramnagur, and remanded on the change of the plan. They were sent, but made no impression; and he resolved, on the encouragement
of

of a five days experience, and from the fear of a delay operating against the other part of his plan, to attempt a storm. This was ordered and executed on the morning of the 20th, with an instant and compleat success. Major Roberts commanded the storming party. The enemy made a slight stand at the outer entrenchment, and fled through the fort, our men following without opposition. A slight attack was made at this time on our camp, but repelled with some loss on the part of the enemy, and none on ours. We lost during the siege eleven men killed, besides ten wounded.

On the same morning, Major Crabb having conducted his division through almost impracticable ways, arrived at a village called Lora, which lies about two miles from the pass. Here he found a body of men with three guns posted to oppose him. They made a firm stand, but were defeated with a considerable loss.—Ours was twelve men of every denomination killed, and twenty-two wounded. The enemy fled through the pass to Lutteefpoor. Our detachment followed to the head of the pass, and there encamped for the remainder of the day.

The news of these concurrent successes being conveyed to the Rajah, at the same instant of

time, alarmed him exceedingly for his own personal safety. His fears were excited with a more forcible impresson by the surprize of the advance of so great a force from a quarter where he had not expected any. With his face turned towards Chunar, and his whole attention and that of his people directed to the movements which were made on that side, they had no suspicion of any design being formed behind them. The first intelligence which was received of Major Crabb's party, described it as consisting of the followers of Ooffaun Sing, and only three companies of our Sepoys; the Hircarrahs who conveyed the news, possibly mistaking the advanced guard for the whole force, and reporting it accordingly; nor was the real strength of the party known, even by that which was detached to oppose it, until the instant of the action. This circumstance was related at the time, and has been since confirmed to me by an officer, named Myher, who commanded a small body of the Rajah's sepoy, and the guns in the action. No design could be more judiciously planned, or more happily executed. Even the impediments and disappointments which attended it, served but to promote the coincidence of the final movements of its operation, with so well-timed an effect, that the difference of time which passed between the engagement at Lora and the conquest of Pateetah, was
little

little more than that which would be required by the difference of the distances of each from Lutteefpoor, for the news of each success to reach Lutteefpoor at the same instant.

Cheit Sing instantly prepared for flight. His road to Bidjeygur, which was his last refuge, lay through the pass, which he durst not attempt. He left Lutteefpoor about three or four in the afternoon; and making a circuit over the hills, gained the high road at the distance of some miles beyond the pass, and proceeded with a few followers to the neighbourhood of Bidjeygur. Some others followed and rejoined him. The rest left without orders, stayed but to plunder the place, and evacuated it. The Gawng Wallahs, or militia, composed of the husbandmen, who had been summoned to attend him, all fled to their own homes. So rapid was the report of this event in its communication, and so decisive in its effects, that the fort of Sutteefgur, which lies about seven or eight miles to the northward of Lutteefpoor, and the palace of Ramnagur, were evacuated on the same evening; and the allegiance of the whole country restored as completely in the course of a few hours, from a state of universal revolt, to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it.

On

On the next morning, the 21st, Major Crabb marched through the pass to Luteefpoor, and found it abandoned.

On the same day, Major Moses Crawford, with the 28th regiment of Sepoys, arrived from Dinapoor, and joined the detachment.

Major Balfour was detached on the morning of the 22d to Ramnagur, of which he took quiet possession. No one remained to oppose him.

Being desirous of returning without loss of time to Benares, and the presence of the Nabob Vizier being more urgently required for the quiet of his country, we parted on the 25th, with every expression of mutual and real satisfaction.

On the next morning I arrived at Ramnagur, and on the 28th returned to my old quarters at Mahdoodas's Garden at Benares.

To quiet the minds of the people, proclamations were issued, offering pardon to all who should peaceably return to their obedience, excepting the persons of Cheit Sing, and his brother

ther Shujan Sing, whom their late rebellious conduct, and their rancour manifested to our nation in the deliberate murder of our soldiers, and even defenceless passengers, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, had precluded from every title to lenity. Among the unhappy sufferers to whom the above exception alluded, was a person of the name of Hooker, who had followed the occupation of a dealer in European wares to our camps, and had ventured to pass in his budgerow, a little after the unhappy affair of Shewallah, near Ramnagur, where he was seized, and unarmed as he was, and pleading the innocence of his profession, murdered in cold blood, Shujan Sing had the command at that time in Ramnagur. Two soldiers also, of Major Crabb's detachment, having wandered from the line, were taken and murdered at Gopee Gunge. For this reason that town was excepted in the proclamation, and has since been destroyed.

My first care, after my return to Benares, was to determine the succession to the Zemidarry and Rauge, vacated by the forfeiture of Cheit Sing. The right of the Company to the disposal of it certainly had not suffered by the past events. The territory had been wholly lost to their dominion, and wholly conquered by their arms: yet the rest
of

of the family, who formerly possessed it, had not merited by any act of theirs, to be involved in the punishment of a man who had been equally their enemy, and whom they had regarded as the usurper of their more legal rights; nor perhaps, would it have been prudent to have put the submission of the people to the test of a new species of dominion. I therefore resolved, in virtue of the full powers which I possessed from the Board for that purpose, to bestow it on the next lineal heir. This was Bauboo Mehipnarain. He was the grandson of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, by a daughter married to Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing. The widow of Bulwunt Sing, named Ranny Goolaub Koower, was still living and in an extreme old age. By the Hindoo law she might claim the inheritance. Her daughter also, the wife of Doorgbijey Sing, might assert the like pretension. Had it become a matter of contest, I had resolved to leave it to the decision of the whole body of the Pundits of Benares; but this reference was unnecessary. Doorgbijey Sing yielded up the pretension of his wife, and the old Ranny her own, by a writing sealed with her name, and acknowledged in the presence of a confidential person whom I deputed to her for that purpose, declaring it to be her wish and request, that the Rajie might be conferred on her grandson, Mehipnarain. He was accordingly invested and proclaimed on
the

the 30th of September. His father, Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing, was at the same time invested with the office of Naib, and is in effect the sole acting manager. He is about thirty-five years of age, his son nineteen.

I have thought it proper to establish a distinct and independent magistracy for the town of Benares. Allee Ibrahim Cawn, the person chosen for this charge, was duly invested with it on the 20th of October.

On the 5th of November I concluded the settlement of the revenue which was to be paid by Rajah Mehipnarain, being 33,33,33358 for the current year, and a perpetual rent of 40,00,000 rupees for the future.

It has been already mentioned, that soon after my flight to Chunar, Colonel Muir advised me of overtures made by Mahdajee Sindia for a separate peace. I sent to Colonel Muir credentials and instructions; and on the 13th of October a treaty was concluded with Mahdajee Sindia. To confirm and improve the advantages obtained by it, I deputed Mr. Anderson to Mahdajee Sindia, and at the same time sent Mr. Chapman, with Bissumber Pundit on a similar commission to Moodajee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar.

On the 8th of October, Major Naylor, with the 23d regiment, having been detached to the relief of Lieutenant-colonel Hannay, arrived on the northern banks of the Dewar, defeated a large force which had assembled round Colonel Hannay, and entirely dispersed them. The return of the Nabob soon after effectually restored the quiet of the country.

About the same time a regiment of sepoy, under the command of Major Lucas, defeated and drove Futty Shaw from the district of Sircar Saurun.

After having gained possession of Lutteefpoor, Major Popham lost no time in prosecuting his march to Bidjeygwe. Cheit Sing did not wait his approach, but fled, taking with him as much treasure as his elephants and camels could carry, which has been reported to me to have consisted of one lack of mohrs, and fifteen or sixteen of silver, besides jewels to an unknown amount. His wife, a woman of an amiable character, his mother Pauna, and all the other women of his family, and the survivors of the family of his father Bulwunt Sing, who were connected with him, were left in the fort of Bidjeygur. He took the route of Rewa, and from thence proceeded to Panna, the capital of Boondelcund, paying and plundered as he passed. He was by the last advices in that country, the Rajah professing in
his

his letters to me a resolution to withdraw his protection from him, and secretly favouring him.

The fortrefs of Bidjeygur furrendered by capitulation on the 10th of November, yielding to Major Popham the peculiar credit of having furmounted all the obstacles which nature and art has opposed to the conquest of two of the fortresses of Hindostan, which had been before universally deemed impregnable.

I have now brought my narrative to its proper conclusion, at that point in which all the movements which form the subject of it, and all their objects appear to have attained their full and complete termination. I regret the length to which it has been drawn, and fear that it will appear unreasonable to those who may consider it a point of duty to give it a thorough perusal, and who will scarce fail to reflect, that it contains in effect the history of but one month. To myself the reflection affords a different sensation when applied to the multitude of events, and their magnitude comprized within so short an interval of my public life. I have aimed at brevity, both in the selection of facts and in the narration of them; having omitted every circumstance which, though engaging a portion of my attention at the time, had no connection with the general train of events, or influence on the character by which

they are discriminated from the ordinary course of affairs. For the satisfaction of such as shall have more patience or leisure to look into them, I have added as an appendix, copies of all the material papers which have a relation to the narrative, but which would have encreased the bulk of it, and disturbed the attention, if inserted in the body of it.

I have also added attestations of all the principal facts and events, sworn before the Chief Justice, to whose advice I am obliged for having suggested it. It did not strike my mind that matters of such notoriety here would require some more authentic verification of them at home than the recital of the man, whose reputation is so immediately concerned as mine is, in the judgment which my superiors, and which the public at large will have a right to form upon it. I am sensible of the wisdom of the precaution, and sorry that it was not earlier intimated, that I might have had time to have collected a larger fund of evidence, although I have reason to be satisfied with the weight of that which I have obtained. Let it be also remembered, that this relation itself has been written under the force of an obligation, as binding as that of an oath administered and taken in all its legal forms.

Whatever

Whatever judgment may be passed on my particular conduct, I am yet happy that it has proved the means of calling forth the inherent virtue of my countrymen, and displaying to all the powers and people of India both the national character and the national constitution, by such effects as have been unrecorded in their histories, and are scarce conceivable by their habit of thinking.

The suddenness of our calamities, the distance of assistance, the privation of every present resource ; the manifest interest which animated and impelled every corps and every individual to the support of the common cause ; and the rapidity with which they rushed to repel the common danger, are facts of universal observation ; and will contribute more effectually to the permanency of the British influence and dominion, than the most splendid victories obtained over adversaries of the highest reputation ; because it shews the harmony which unites all the parts of our government, and their augmented strength under the compression of external violence ; and will be remembered as a most striking example, which every man concerned in its operations will apply to his own interests and feelings ; that its greatest and most successful exertions have arisen out of the most desperate emergencies, and have fallen in every such instance with the most dreadful vengeance on the heads of its aggressors.

For

For the sense which I have entertained of the particular conduct of the officers who have distinguished themselves in the late service, I cannot express myself in stronger terms than those of the following extract of my letter to the Board, dated the 29th of September, and copy of one dated the 7th of October.

Extract of a letter from the Governor-general to the Board, dated 29th September, 1781.

“ I have forbore any particular comments,
 “ in this place, reserving them, where they
 “ will be more properly introduced, for my
 “ detailed narrative. Yet I cannot suppress
 “ without a violence to my own feelings the
 “ testimony which is due, especially from me,
 “ to the unexampled zeal and public spirit of all
 “ our officers, and the wonderful activity with
 “ which these qualities were displayed on the
 “ late occasion. I have already acknowledged
 “ the early exertions which were made by Colonel
 “ Blair, during my former short and calamitous
 “ residence at Benares. Of Major Popham
 “ I cannot say sufficient, to express my sense of
 “ his services. Though my letters were every
 “ where intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a
 “ decision and sollicitude that reflect equal credit
 “ upon his character, detached Major Crabb,
 “ with his party, to my assistance on the first
 “ and

“ and instant rumour of my situation. Colonel
 “ Sir John Cumming, with the like alacrity,
 “ obeyed the orders for his march to Cawnpoor;
 “ as did Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty, in the im-
 “ mediate dispatch of Major Crawford, and the
 “ troops of cavalry. The same spirit animated
 “ every officer of every corps, and infused itself
 “ into the men under their command with an ef-
 “ fect so far exceeding the common occurrences
 “ of human affairs, that in the complete space
 “ of one month, this great and valuable Province,
 “ which had been suddenly and wholly lost, was
 “ in substance wholly recovered to the British
 “ empire.

“ I am, &c.”

Copy of a letter from the Governor-General to
the Board, dated the 7th of October.

“ I have had frequent occasion to express, in
 “ public orders, the highest approbation of the
 “ zeal, spirit, and good conduct exerted by all the
 “ officers and troops in all the late operations for
 “ reducing the rebellious Zemidarry to obedience.
 “ Several of the officers have merited and receiv-
 “ ed particular thanks by name, and it would
 “ give me the greatest satisfaction to distinguish
 “ and reward each individual in proportion to his
 “ station and services. But as no government is
 “ possessed of the means of such diffusive re-
 “ compence,

“ compence, it must be unavoidably confined to
 “ those whose elevated rank, or peculiar situa-
 “ tion, affords them opportunities of laying im-
 “ mediate claim to the more honorary or bene-
 “ ficial testimonies of public gratitude. But
 “ such testimonies, whilst they are in possession
 “ of persons of superior rank, give hopes to,
 “ and excite the emulation of those also who are
 “ in the inferior; and thus, by well-timed and
 “ judicious rewards, the prosperity of the state
 “ and the interests of its servants are united.

“ It is on this principle that I request permis-
 “ sion to solicit the consideration of the Board,
 “ for an honourable recompence to the two offi-
 “ cers who have been first in rank, and most
 “ conspicuous in services, during the commo-
 “ tions in this district.

“ Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, who commanded
 “ at Chunargur, from the day of the fatal cata-
 “ strophe in this town, manifested a generous
 “ zeal for the public interests, and for my safety,
 “ above all considerations for his own. Every
 “ requisition which I made to him was instantly
 “ complied with, and he sent me a reinforcement
 “ of a battalion of Sepoys, at a time when he
 “ had the strongest grounds to believe, that an
 “ attack would be made on his own garrison,
 “ which it was incapable of sustaining.

“ It

" It is perhaps scarce less meritorious in Colo-
 " nel Blair to have not only submitted without
 " repining to the preference of any inferior offi-
 " cer to a command of such importance within
 " the limits of his own, but to have assisted and
 " co-operated with that officer with as much ala-
 " cidity, as if the success was to have redounded
 " to his own honour.

" This is not the first occasion on which the
 " attention of the Board has been called to the
 " distinguished merit and services of Major Pop-
 " ham. They have been again most happily ex-
 " erted in his present command for the safety
 " and interests of the company in a very perilous
 " situation. I have been in a manner eye wit-
 " nesses of them. I wish to express and to shew
 " my sense of them, but I want language for
 " the first, and means for the latter.

" As from the knowledge which I have of the
 " characters of Lieutenant-Colonel Blair and
 " Major Popham, I am certain that the most
 " honourable reward will be to them the most
 " acceptable one. I beg leave to propose, that
 " they be promoted by Brevet to the rank im-
 " mediately above that which they at present re-
 " spectively hold; that is, Lieutenant-Colonel
 " Blair to the rank of Colonel, and Major Pop-

O

" ham

"ham to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.—
 "This preferment, whilst it is an honourable
 "distinction to these officers, cannot be deemed
 "an injury to their seniors; as their promotion
 "will not be thereby retarded: They may be al-
 "ways employed on separate services, and their
 "rank will not affected when they rise in the re-
 "gular course of succession.

"The Company owe so much to the eminent
 "services of Major Popham, that I may think it
 "incumbent upon me at a future period, to re-
 "commend him to their further consideration.
 "Whilst I bestow the just tribute of praise due
 "to those officers who acted upon the spot, I
 "should be guilty of an unpardonable neglect
 "and even injustice, if I omitted to express my
 "sense of equal approbation of the conduct of
 "others more remote.

"Colonel Morgan on the first intelligence
 "which reached him of my situation, and with-
 "out waiting for official information or authority,
 "in the true spirit of an able and zealous officer,
 "detached a very considerable portion of his
 "brigade, and all the supplies of provisions
 "which he could procure.

" Sir

“ Sir John Cumming likewise moved with the
 “ utmost diligence and alacrity on receiving an
 “ order to occupy the station of Cawnpoor, in
 “ the room of the second brigade. He marched
 “ with his whole force in fifteen hours after re-
 “ ceiving the orders, and reached Cawnpoor in
 “ four days, himself, officers, and troops, cheer-
 “ fully making their utmost efforts in the common
 “ cause.

“ Such have been the spirited and judicious
 “ exertions of our officers and troops in support
 “ of the Company's most valuable rights and
 “ possessions, of the dignity of their government,
 “ and of the honour and safety of their chief
 “ magistrate; a conduct which manifests the
 “ strongest attachment and affection on their parts,
 “ and implies an observance of justice and regard
 “ to the prosperity and happiness of those who
 “ are placed under our authority, on ours.
 “ These are circumstances which will always af-
 “ ford me the most pleasing reflections, notwith-
 “ standing the calamities which have produced
 “ them.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ WARREN HASTINGS.”

Chunar, 1st December, 1781.

TRANSLATION of the Sunnud granted
to Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemidarry of
Gauzipore, Benares, &c.

Be it known to the Mutfedics in office, present and to come, Cannoongoes Muchudums, Ryatts, cultivators, to all the inhabitants and people resident and belonging to Sircar Benares, Gazypore, and Chundara, in the foubah of Illahabad, That wheareas by virtue of a treaty with the Nabob Affoph ul Dowlah; concluded on the 20th Rubby ul Owat, 1189, Hegeree, or 21st May, 1775, the Government and Sovereignty of the Sircars abovementioned, has been ceded to the Honourable East-India Company, from the 4th of Jummaddy ul Owat 1189 Hejeree, or 4th July, 1775, the said East-India Company therefore, in virtue of the rights thereby obtained, do confirm unto Rajah Cheit Sing, the Zemidarry, Aumeeny, and Poujedarry of the said Sircars agreeably to the Zemmel, together with the Cutwallus of Juanpore and Benares, and the Mint of Benares, from the said date. Whatever gold and silver shall be coined in the Mint, the said Rajah shall coin conformably to his Mutchulka. He is not to be, in the smallest particular, remiss in the observation and execution of the several duties incumbent on him; he is to behave with moderation and kindness to the Ryatts and people, to promote the cultivation

cultivation and encrease of inhabitants and produce of the lands; expelling thieves, nightly assaulters and robbers, and so effectually punishing the disturbers of the peace, that no trace of them may be seen; and he is to pay a tribute of 23,40,249 Benares mutchuldar rupees, or 2266180 Calcutta ficcas, annually to the Company's Treasury; should he receive orders to pay the above revenue at Benares, he shall, in that case, pay the sum of 23,40,249 Benares mutchuldar rupees, each rupee to weigh ten masha, and to contain two ruttee and two chowls of alloy, and no more; should the weight be less, or the alloy be more, he shall make up the deficiency; whenever the money shall not be wanted at Benares, he is to remit the annual amount of 2366180 of ficca rupees punctually agreeable to his Kists, and by monthly payments at Calcutta. In consideration of which, he shall be allowed a deduction of two per cent. amounting in all to ficca repees 44,4,34 14 5 account of Hindowny or Exchange, which being deducted, the net amount is 22,21,745 17 ficca rupees of Calcutta, which he is to pay at that place. After the settlement of accounts, at the end of the year, he shall, in the customary manner, receive credit for his payments, and he is by no means to collect the prohibited abwab of the durgah of his Majesty. This Sunnud being granted, is to remain in force, and

and all former sunnuds to become null and void; you the Mutseddies and persons abovementioned, are to regard the said Rajah, as truly and lawfully possessed of the Zemidarry, Aumuny, and Poujedarry, of the above Sircars, and to acknowledge his authority in the several acts appertaining thereunto. Know that we have issued the most strict and positive commands, and obey them accordingly.

Written on the 25th of Suffer, 17th Sun, of 15th of April, 1776.

(Signed) By the Governor-General and Council.

The Zimmeen.

The office of the Zemindarry of Sircar Benares, Gazypore, Chundara, the Cuttwally, the duties and the mint in the Sobah of Illahabad, have been conferred upon the great Chief Rajah Cheit Sing Bahadre, also the Aumuny and Poujedarry.

Copy of a Pottah granted to Chiet Sing.

The Pottah containing the underwritten stipulations is granted unto Rajah Chiet Sing Bahadre.

Sircar Benares, Gazeypore, Chunar, and the mahals of Sircar of Juanpore, comprehending the
mahal

mahal and duties, Havily, Mahomed, Abaub, Benares, the Khaus Daums in Purgunna Bhadurry, Talook of Sunkeramow in Purgunna Chunar, Suklesgurra, Bijcepore, Sircar Gauzypore Purgunnah Sekunderpore Khered Shady Abaud Patna Serreinga, including the Cutwally duties of Juanpore and Benares, the mint of Benares, the mokumy, yatifaub and stores, weighing both maul and duties, and the Duanny, Dufstore, excepting the narcar of half the Jagheer of Bhadurry, the exempted Jagheers of Ayma which have been inserted for a length of time in the accounts as deductions, all the articles of the Taheed are settled upon you from the 4th of Jumaudy ul Awaul 1189, Hijeree, or the 4th of July, 1775, English, at a stipulation per annum of 2340249 Mahidar Benares rupees, not short of the weight of 10 mosha each, and not containing a greater portion of alloy than two rattees, and two beringe, agreeably to your Mutchulka and Cabuleat. This sum you will therefore pay, but should it not suit the convenience of the company to receive it at Benares, you are to pay it in Calcutta in ficca rupees of Calcutta, amounting in which specie to 22,66,180 ficca rupees, the amount of the Hindooawn or exchange, allowed you at the rate of 2 per cent. is rupees 44434,14,5, which being deducted, the net sum will be 22,21,745,1,15 ficca rupees of Calcutta. This you are to pay
 without

without the least deduction or depreciation whatever, in the course of each year by monthly payments, agreeably to your separate kistbundy. This you are to pay without any allowance for subundy, you will remit the money to Calcutta without fail, conformably to the said kistbundy.

Kubboolyat, or agreement executed by Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemidarry of Benares, &c.

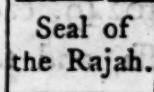
Whereas a treaty has been concluded between the English East India Company, and the Nabob Assof ul Dowlah Chea Cawn Behadur, Huz-zubber Jung Nazim of the Soubah of Allahabad, under date the 20th of Rubbee ul Awal 1189, Hijeree, or the 21st of May, 1775, Christian, whereby the sovereignty of the Sircars, Benares, Gauzeypore, Chunar, &c. hath been ceded to the English East India Company from the 4th of Jamady ul Awal 1189, Hijeree, or the 4th of July 1775, Christian, and the Company having granted the Zemidarry, the Aumuny and Toujedarry of the aforesaid Sircars, together with the Cutwallies of Benares and Juanpore, &c. and the mint of Benares unto me from the above date, I do hereby voluntarily consent and agree under my hand, that whatever coins shall be struck in the said mint, shall be conformably to a separate obligation, which I have executed under date the

25th of Zihiza, in the 17th year of the reign, and delivered to the Government for the Company. It shall be my duty to do every thing that may be needful and usual for the interest and security of the country, to provide for the welfare of the inhabitants—to be attentive to the encrease of cultivation and improvement of the revenue, to use my endeavours in such manner to expel robbers and assassins, and to punish offenders of every kind, that not a trace of them may be left, and will pay the annual revenue of Government, being at Benares, mutchuldar rupees of Benares 2340249, each rupee to weigh no less than ten massa, and to contain no more alloy than two rattas and two chowl, any deficiency of the standard to be made good. If the Government shall not have occasion to receive the same at Benares, I will, in such case, pay it at Calcutta annually, by monthly payments, according to Kistbundy, and conformably to the Tuzul Zill, or particulars in the margin, the sum being Calcutta sicca rupees 22,66,180, including Nuzzeranna, &c. but deducting on account of Hoondyan, or exchange, a premium of two per cent. which premium of two per cent. upon the whole sum, being sicca rupees 44434,14,5, I will accordingly deduct from remitting the remainder to the Company's Treasury at Calcutta, so that, after the deduction of Exchange, I shall pay net, and with-

out further deduction into the Treasury of Calcutta, the sum of Calcutta sicca rupees 22,21,745¹¹⁵ at the end of each year. After payment of the same, and observing the conditions agreed upon, I shall receive a release or discharge in full, wherefore I have written the agreement to be adhered to accordingly.

In the margin follows a list, dated 25th Suffer, 17th of the monthly instalments Sun, corresponding with the 15th April, 1776, Christain.

Signed by the Rajah.



A true Copy, (Signed) E. H A Y,

Sub-Secretary to the Hon. the
Governor and Council.

Extract from the Secret Proceedings of the Hon.
the Governor-General and Council, on the
9th July, 1778.

Resolved—That Rajah Cheit Sing be required in form, to contribute his share of the burthen of the present war, by the establishment of three regular battalions of sepoys, to be raised and maintained at his expence, and the Governor-general is requested to write to him to that effect.

Copy

Copy of a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, received
the 30th July, 1778.

I have been honoured by the receipt of your gracious letter, communicating the intelligence of a war being broke out between the Courts of Great Britain and France, and desiring me to take on myself a share of the burden of expence—my patron I am the servant of the Sircar—I will write you more fully hereafter—on all occasions I am hopeful of your Highness's favour and support.

Extract from the secret proceedings of the Honourable Governor-General and Council, on the 26th August, 1779.

Resolved, That the Commander in Chief be requested to give orders to Major Camac, or the officer in command of his detachment for the march of two battalions of sepoy to Benares, at the requisition of Mr. Thomas Graham, the resident there, and to remain at that place for further orders.

Resolved, that the following letter be written to Mr. Graham:

To Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, President at
Benares.

SIR,

We have received your letters of the 16th instant, acquainting us that Rajah Cheit Sing had declined to pay the five lacks of rupees which we required of him, as his proportion of the expenses of the war for the present year.

Having judged it necessary to make this claim, which was suggested to us by the urgency of the case, we cannot admit of any plea which the Rajah may urge to exempt him from it; orders have therefore been sent to Major Camac, or the officer in command of his detachment, to march to Benares, immediately on your requisition, with two battalions of sepoys, and to wait our further orders at that place. We have thought this step necessary, for the purpose of compelling the Rajah to pay the quota required of him in case of necessity; and we desire that you repeat your demand, and insist on his compliance. If the Rajah still continue to object to your claim and refuse payment, you are to require the officer in

in command of the detachment, to march immediately in conformity to your orders, and advise us of your proceedings. We hope, however, that you will not be reduced to proceed to this extremity, as it would oblige us to encrease our demands on the Rajah, by exacting from him the whole expence of the detachment, from the day of its march, in addition to our original claim.

We are, &c.

Copy of a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, received the 27th August, 1779.

I have been honoured with your letter, calling on me for the payment of five lacks of rupees, on account of the expence of the war for the present year, and understand its contents.

My situation is well known to you, and I assure you, without reserve, that I have no ability left, nor is there any mode of relief for me but in your favour.—I am fully confident that it is your desire, who are my master, to support me your servant; and last year you directed Shick Ally Nucky, that I should by any means, by disposing of my effects, or by borrowing, make this one payment, and I should not be called on
in

in future, and that you would take very means for my advantage and support.

I accordingly put in practice every method in my power, and by loans made good the requisition. It is now absolutely out of my power to raise the sum required, and I am therefore hopeful that you will be kindly pleased to excuse me the five lacks now demanded, and that nothing may be demanded of me beyond the amount expressed in the Pottah, which through your favour I obtained from the honourable English Company.

This Raja and Zemidarry, and my dignity, are the gifts of your Highness. I have judged it necessary to represent to you my inability and helpless state.

Copy of a letter from Raja Cheit Sing, received
21st August, 1780.

I have been honoured by your orders, directing me to pay five lacks of Sicca Machuldar rupees to Mr. Fowke, of the war which still continues; and although my distressed situation must be known to you from other quarters, notwithstanding I have been afraid to represent it to you myself, that I have sold my house and borrowed
sums

sums of money, from which I am not yet released; yet, in obedience to your orders, I have paid one lack of rupees out of the five lacks, to Mr. Fowke, and should pay the other four in three months. I request you will send directions to that gentleman to allow me that time, and it shall be punctually paid at the end of that term; you yourself must be convinced, that I have no abilities or resources left.

Extract from the public proceedings from the
26th of October, 1780.

Copy of a letter to General Giles Stibbert, Com-
mander in Chief, &c.

Having had late occasion to be much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rajah of Benares towards this government, in withholding the payment of the amount due from him, as his subsidy: we think it necessary to direct and do direct you to issue orders to the commanding officers of the battalions at the stations nearest to Benares, to march immediately to that place, and wait such further orders as may hereafter be transmitted to them.

We are, &c.

Extract

Extract from the secret proceedings of the Honourable Governor-General and Council, on the 2d of November, 1780.

Agreed, That the Governor-General be requested to write to the Nabob Vizier, recommending to him to require from Fyzoola Cawn, the quota of troops stipulated by treaty, to be furnished by the latter for his service, being 5000 horse, to be put under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Muir, commanding at Futtighur.

Agreed also that the Governor-General be requested to write to the Rajah of Benares, requiring him to furnish such part of the cavalry entertained in his service, as he can spare for the service of this government, and to inform him what number he can supply; that a letter be written to Mr. Francis Fowke, directing him to make the same requisition of the Rajah, and at the same time to obviate any jealousy which the Rajah may conceive; that this may be converted to a permanent imposition upon him, by assuring him that the board will require the services of these forces no longer than while the present war lasts, after which they will be returned.

As

N.B. The Appendix to the Narrative contains, amongst other papers of great importance, the depositions of several Gentlemen in the Company's Service, and of many very respectable natives of Indostan, which will be printed entire in the Appendix hereafter. For the present, however, I have abbreviated many of them, as they will tend to prove to every impartial reader, that the rebellion of Cheit Sing was premeditated—Mr. Hastings's journey to Benares accelerated the revolt of the Rajah.

Affidavit of Major Eaton, commanding at Buxar.

Letter from Major Eaton to Thomas Graham, Esq. Resident at Benares, dated the 23d of May, 1779, complaining of the disaffected conduct of Rajah Cheit Sing and his officers, and of enormities committed by the latter.

Letter from Major Eaton to Francis Fowke, Esq. Resident at Benares, upon the same subject, dated 3d of November, 1780.

Mr. Fowke's answer to Major Eaton, expressing that he had no hope of obtaining redress, dated 8th November, 1780.

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Letter

Letter from Major Eaton to Francis Fowke, Esq. dated 17th of November, 1780, representing the assault made by the Zemidar of Beerpoor on Ensign Basset, and the general enormities of the Zemidars of the jurisdiction of Rajah Cheit Sing.

Letters from Major Eaton to the Supreme Council, on the same subject.

Major Palmer's affidavit of the declared intentions of the Governor-General towards Cheit Sing.

Attestation of David Anderson, Esq. to the same effect.

Affidavit of Moonshy Gore Persaud—His imprisonment and sufferings—Ladders made for the attack of the Governor-General's quarters.

Affidavit of Hurryram Pundit—Forces which attended Cheit Sing to Buxar.

Affidavit of Moonshy Patnimul—Proclamation at Benares against protection of English gentlemen, on pain of death, and forfeiture of property.

Affidavit of Moonshy Gore Persaud, the same in substance as the foregoing.

Affidavit

Affidavit of Doond Sing, commandant—Attempts of the Rajah's brother to seduce him from the Company's service in February, 1781.

Various affidavits of the insurrections in Goorookpoor.

Solemn declaration of Ranny Golaub Koower, widow of Bulwant Sing—Preparations made at Ramnagur for attacking the Governor-General in his quarters—Disaffection of Cheit Sing.

Affidavit of Gudrauge Sing, Killidar of Ramnagur—Murder of Mr. Hooker—Design to attack the Governor-General's quarters.

Affidavit of Hunder Sing, adjutant at Buxar—Attempts of the Rajah's brother to seduce the sepoys of the garrison—Insolence of the Zemidar Force attendant on the Rajah at Buxar—Orders to reduce the fort of Buxar—Assault made on Ensign Basset, and other gentlemen, at Beerpoor.

Affidavit of Sheck Mahimud, commandant in Cheit Sing's service—List of forces which attended the Rajah to Buxar—Massacre at Shewalla—Designs to attack the Governor-General's quarters at Benares—List of forces in the service of Rajah Cheit Sing.

Various affidavits of the massacre at Shewalla:

Perwannah from Rajah Cheit Sing to Dadjoo Sing, to join him and cut off the English.

To ditto to join Futteh Shaw.

Affidavits of Nathaniel Middleton, Esq.—Reports of Perwannah's issued by Cheit Sing, commanding the destruction of the English, and letters to the Nabob's Zemidars inciting them to rebel—Fidelity and attachment of the Nabob Vizier—Murders at Gossel Gunge—The Ministers of the Vizier's Mother encourage the disaffection, and assist the levying of troops at Fyzabad for Cheit Sing.

Affidavit of Lieutenant Colonel Hamay, commanding a corps of sepoys in the Nabob Vizier's service—Hostile practices of the Begums at Fyzabad—Troops levied there publicly for Cheit Sing, with the encouragement of the eunuchs of both the Begums—Actual departure of 1000 levies—Remonstrance made to the Bow Begum by the deponent without effect—Attack of Captain Gordon by Shumshur Cawn, the Begum's Aumil—General disaffection of Gorookpoor and all the country lying South of Fyzabad, fomented by the Agents

Agents of Cheit Sing, and by the money furnished by him.

Affidavit of Major John Macdonald, commanding a battalion of sepoy in the Vizier's service—Insurrections of Gorookpoor excited by Cheit Sing, and encouraged by the Begums at Fyzabad—The rebellion of Cheit Sing preconcerted.

Affidavit of Captain David Williams, commanding a battalion of sepoy in the Vizier's service—Insurrections of Gorookpoor, and mutiny of his own sepoy.

Affidavit of Captain John Gordon, commanding a corps of sepoy in the Nabob Vizier's service—Hostile acts of Shumshire Cawn, Aumil of the Vizier's mother, attributed to the Begum.

Second affidavit of Lieut. Colonel Hannay—Plan concerted by the Begums to detain him at Fyzabad, and to seduce from him his followers.

Affidavit of Juan Henere Moordelai, private of the company of Chasseurs, relating the circumstances of the massacre of his comrades at Luttefpoor.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS,
Governor-General, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

When I had last the honour of seeing you, I more than once urged my reasons for thinking, that the rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing was but a part of a larger and more extensive plan, which was by good fortune of your arrival prematurely brought forward before all the parties to it were united and properly prepared for action. In support of this belief, and to prove that I am far from being single in the espousal of it, I beg leave to trouble you with some extracts from the letters I received from Colonel Hannay, written from the time of the first breaking out of the rebellion to my return to Lucknow. His situation for obtaining the knowledge he imparts, his experience, and his judgment to guide what he advances, must make his sentiments of weight and authority.

In his letter of the 8th of September, from Fayzabad, scarcely ten days after he had set about obeying the Nabob Vizier's orders to march with his force to your assistance, he writes " that the
" whole country on the East side of the Gogra
" was in arms and rebellion. His own troops
" deserting, and the single companies scarce able
" to

“ to join other detachments: the forts of Gur-
 “ ruckpore, Bilma, and Dumreagunge taken
 “ from the Aumils by the Zemidars; and that
 “ even Hircurrackes cannot pass; so that all com-
 “ munication of intelligence from his other de-
 “ tachments, under Major M'Donald, Captain
 “ Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, was cut off
 “ and at an end.” He adds, “ This town (Fay-
 “ zabad) has more the appearance of belonging
 “ to Cheit Sing than the Vizier. The Begums
 “ have placed guards to prevent any of my peo-
 “ ple going to the Buzar in it.—Within these
 “ four days Shaak Chaan, with near one thousand
 “ horse and foot, has marched from hence to
 “ Benares (they were raised here) and I must
 “ confess, that for my own part, I have no doubt
 “ but Juwar Ally Cawn, and Behar Ally Khan,
 “ through their agents, have stirred up all the
 “ disturbances which extend from hence to Powey
 “ and Azimgur.—I have sent Hoolafs Roy to the
 “ Begum to enquire into the reason of my people
 “ being prevented from going into the town,
 “ Cheit Sing's being suffered to raise troops here,
 “ and why her servants attempted to prevent my
 “ getting boats to transport the Company's guns
 “ and horse from Amora; I have also desired she
 “ will give orders for seizing the family of Shaak
 “ Chaan (abovementioned) and when Hoolafs
 “ Roy returns, I will write you her answer. In
 “ Khyrabad

“ Kyrabad Sylack, and all the country on the West
 “ of the Gogra, between Fyzabad and Kyrabad,
 “ the Aumils are flying before the Gongwars, and
 “ cannon firing at all hours. Cheit Sing has sent
 “ money to Futtu Shaw, Ghinoo Roy, Ajeetmull,
 “ Zalim Sing, and all the refractory Rajahs, to
 “ enable them to raise men. I this moment re-
 “ ceived Gordon’s account of the loss of his de-
 “ tachment, which puts my march to join you
 “ out of the question. It happened by the vil-
 “ lainy of the Fouzdar of Tanda Shumsheer
 “ Khan, a Cheelah of Bahar Ally Khan, who
 “ turned his guns upon the detachment, and an
 “ unfordable nullah in front and many thousands
 “ of rajepoots, who had fought them all the way
 “ from Chowra Ghaut, made the sepoy’s despair.
 “ Zalim Sing, and Putty Puul Sing mean to at-
 “ tack McDonald to-morrow, with two thousand
 “ one hundred men. Behar Ally Khan deserves
 “ death; as the loss of Gordon’s detachment can
 “ only be imputed to him—his Cheelah would
 “ never have acted so damning a part without
 “ orders from him. Jewâr Ally Khan, in the
 “ Choke of Fyzabad, asks every man who bears
 “ the appearance of a soldier, why he goes not to
 “ Cheit Sing for service—I mention these circum-
 “ stances that you may mention them to Mr.
 “ Hastings and the Nabob, and the necessary
 “ steps

“ steps be immediately taken, to prevent what
 “ delay will render a very serious matter. A few
 “ days more will lead the ferment which is here
 “ to Lucknow. If the Nabob insists upon my
 “ proceeding, I must bring every body with me,
 “ for whoever is left behind will be sacrificed.”

On the 7th September, Capt. Williams writes,
 “ Upon my arrival here, I found that part of
 “ Futtý Shaw’s, Ghunoo Roy’s, and Ajeetmull’s
 “ people had crossed to Manjowlay. They have
 “ been urged to this step by Cheit, who has sup-
 “ plied them with a considerable sum of money,
 “ and promised them great sums, if they will put
 “ the whole country into confusion—five thou-
 “ sand men are on the opposite side of the river,
 “ ready to cross. Futtý Shaw has written to all
 “ his adherents to be in arms. *Saudit Ally and*
 “ *the Begums* are concerned deeply in the late
 “ business.” In a subsequent letter, received
 immediately after the above, but without date,
 Colonel Hannay says, “ I have before told you
 “ how violently the Begum’s people inflame the
 “ present disturbance; and, in addition to this,
 “ the principal Zemidars and Rajahs have all
 “ certificates under the seal of Cheit Sing, that he
 “ will supply them with whatever money they
 “ may require for subsisting all the troops they
 “ can raise. In a very short time, I apprehend

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“ the greatest part of the Nabob’s dominions will
 “ be in the state we are in here ; and it is the
 “ general belief of every man in this part of the coun-
 “ try, that the conduct I have related, is a concerted
 “ plan for the extirpation of the English. What
 “ may be the situation of the rest of the Nabob’s
 “ dominions I know not ; but it is most certain,
 “ that from Gooda to Manjee, and from Fyzabad
 “ to the Benares district, and across from the
 “ Gogra to the Ganges, the country is in the ut-
 “ most ferment. Should the present disturbances
 “ proceed from a plan of policy, it will be con-
 “ cealed from you as much as possible, and there-
 “ fore I take all possible means of communicating
 “ to you what I really know to be fact—I know
 “ not whether the Dawks pass freely from you to
 “ Lucknow ; but, if they do not, and no measure
 “ is immediately taken to bring about order, and
 “ draw the troops together, we may be deprived
 “ of all possible means of assisting one another,
 “ and the army lost by detached regiments : we
 “ have no communication with Bengal, and the
 “ troops on this side Benares are at present too
 “ much separated to yield one another timely
 “ assistance. I hope to God a sufficient force is
 “ ordered for the reduction of Cheit Sing, for
 “ the people who are daily sent to him, horse and foot,
 “ from Fyzabad, and the seat of rebellion I have
 “ before named is very great.”

In

In his next of the 13th, he says, " That it is
 " impossible, in the general insurrection which
 " now reigns almost universally, impossible for
 " me to get the force together the Nabob de-
 " manded, or to force my way to you with a
 " less. The greatest anarchy prevails—the pre-
 " sent insurrection is said, and believed to be,
 " with an intention to expel the English. I am
 " compelled to give up all the country below
 " Goonda—be upon your guard against the
 " Vizier, for there are many circumstances to
 " make me believe he means to espouse the
 " cause of Cheit Sing; the *Begums* have *almost*
 " *themselves* recruited for him." In his next letter
 of the 18th he says, " If you meet with a check
 " at Benares, every man in the country is ready
 " to fall upon your scattered parties." " The state
 " of the Vizier's dominions is in general beyond
 " description! The insurrection is not partial,
 " but generally spread throughout the whole, tho'
 " it rages most violently in the Mahls of Sultan-
 " pore, the Mahls from Fyzabad to the Benares
 " country, the Mahls on this last side of the Go-
 " gra and in Koonry, Khyrabad, and Syluck; and
 " if I may trust to the information I have receiv-
 " ed, it is already begun, and will soon rage as
 " violently in the Shajehanpore, Rohilcund, Kora,
 " and the Doaub. I have already and repeatedly
 " informed you of the dispositions of those in

" Fyzabad, which has in fact been one of the great
 " sources of the insurrection, and the place of all
 " others in the Vizier's dominions which has sup-
 " plied Cheit Sing with the greatest number of
 " troops. The old Begum does, in the most open
 " and violent manner, support Cheit Sing's rebel-
 " lion and the insurrection; and the Nabob's mo-
 " ther's accursed eunuchs, are not less industrious
 " than those of the Burra Begum. Capital ex-
 " amples made of Jewar Ally Khan, and Behur
 " Ally Khan, would, I am persuaded, have the
 " very best effect." On the 20th, he says, after re-
 " stating his own imminent danger, " I have already
 " written you so fully my reasons of being con-
 " victed of the treachery practised at Fyzabad,
 " and which I am afraid extends to your camp;
 " that I need to say no more on the subject, and
 " again mentions the general insurrections." The
 truth of these positions I found most fully proved
 upon my return, and observed, in particular,
 that the most vigorous efforts were limited to the
 Jageerdars, among whom the Begums, Fyzullah
 Khan, and Lutterfut Ally Khan, distinguish-
 ed themselves. However, the Nabob's return;
 the victories gained by the troops with you in the
 total reduction of Cheit Sing's country, and
 the march of the two regiments from Cawn-
 pore to our assistance here, have unitedly con-
 tributed to restore matters nearly to their usual
 tran-

tranquility. The example most necessary to be made of the two active and turbulent Eunuchs, mentioned by Colonel Hannay, remains yet to be done, as well as of a villain now in confinement, who had assembled 5000 Gongwars for the avowed purpose of rescuing two principal state prisoners from their confinement with the Nabob; and it is universally believed to make an attempt upon the Treasury, for which he had fixed the day of the Duffarah, but was most happily detected, seized only a day before by the vigilance of the Cutwal, and the fact proved by papers found in his house; unless spirits of this sort be controuled, the worst of consequences may be expected from the neglect, should, which God avert, any fresh opportunities occur.

I have the honour to be, with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

(Copy)

NATH. MIDDLETON.

A true copy, signed E. Hay, Sub-Secretary to the Honourable Governor-General and Council.

Lucknow, the 17th October, 1781.

Minute

Minute of Mess. WHEELER and MACPHERSON.

The Board having already passed their opinion in terms of the fullest approbation upon the Governor-General's conduct, and management, in the suppression of the rebellion of Cheit Sing, and the regulation of the Province and City of Benares, they think it unnecessary to repeat their opinion of those measures.

They cannot, at the same time, but remark that the explanations which the Governor-General has given in some parts of his proceedings, during his first discussions with Cheit Sing, and subsequent to the convulsion, are rather an open avowal of the motives that actuated his mind, than the guarded representations of a public officer, stating to his employers the measures which an extraordinary situation influenced, dictated, and justified.

To a liberal and candid tribunal, such was the natural and certainly the wisest appeal. The generosity and justice of a British tribunal looks more to the real motives and zeal of their agent, than to the preconcerted artifice of his conduct, or the legal discriminations of his defence. Even where a public measure is unsuccessful, the responsibility

responsibility risked by the agent, if risked upon public principles, is frequently his justification, and, in many cases, entitles him to applause.

In these distant dominions, if the ruling servants of the State attend more to those rules and forms which protect from responsibility, than to an ardent pursuit of the public interest under every private risk, the hands of administration may secure themselves against condemnation, even though the country should be lost through their mismanagement.

It was not by avoiding personal responsibility, that the servants of the public established the British influence in Asia, nor is it by such cold precautions that our power is to be maintained, especially at an hour of general hostility against us. The Board are led into these observations, from an ingenuous consideration of the difficulties in which the Governor-General found himself involved at Benares, and a conviction of the motives under which he acted. The first were surmounted with ability and fortitude; the latter they most sincerely believe do him real honour. Easy would be the task to approve the suppression of the rebellion, and to stand disconnected with any responsibility, by justifying those acts which certainly precipitated the storm from the cloud in which it had gathered.

Acts,

Acts, which judges at a distance, judges unoppressed with the natural embarrassments of this government, may with great speciousness of argument condemn. But the Board wish not, they cannot permit themselves to proceed so disingenuously or guardedly. They are at the same time aware that in a rigid investigation of the whole of this business, the following questions will be asked:

1st. Where were the Governor-General's particular instructions for such extraordinary demands upon Cheit Sing?

2d. Why was that Chief put in arrest, when he offered to make every concession?

3dly. Whether there was not a compact between him and the Company which specified that he was only to pay them a certain annual tribute?

Subsequent to the massacre of our troops, and the events that followed, no questions will be asked.—In answer to the first question, the Board think the Governor-General was fully authorized by the general tenor of his instructions.

The Governor-General having a deciding vote, could have written out and approved more particular

ticular instructions. There was a delicacy in the mode he preferred, and it composed a greater responsibility.

In regard to the second question, it is evident from Cheit Sing's answers, and preparations, and the whole tenor of his conduct before, and at the time, that nothing but arrest could have convinced him of the Governor-General's determination.

That the arrest was not intended to proceed further than the payment of a proper fine to the Company, who stood in the place of his sovereign and benefactor, is evinced by the Governor-General's Answer to Cheit Sing after his confinement.

Had a total revolution in the administration of the Zemidarry been intended, the arrest must have been affected with more force and greater marks of severity.

That the officers who went to execute this service, were convinced that no measure of determined severity was intended against Cheit Sing, appears from that unfortunate want of precaution which cost them and their followers their lives.

The third question involves much argument, yet is fully answered by that part of the Governor-General's narrative, which discusses the Sunnud, under which Cheit Sing ruled the province, and which was so liberally granted by the Company. The correspondence with the Indian states, shews clearly their ideas of the rights of Zemidars, and Rajahs protected in their Zemidaries by superior power. Had Cheit Sing been an Ally and a Sovereign Prince, who paid only a fixed subsidy, his military preparations and his insidious conduct under pretences of poverty, in disappointing the expectations of the government for the army under Major Camac justified, together with his correspondence with our enemies, the severest exaction of aid to assist the Company in their distresses, and to atone for his ingratitude and treachery to a power who protected him, and to whom he owed his situation.

The Governor-General delivers in the following Minute, in consequence of that of the Board, entered on the proceedings of the 14th ult.

The Governor-General acknowledges his obligations to the Board, for this repeated instance of the liberal manner in which they have been pleased to record his judgment on his conduct. Had it been expressed in the simple terms of official
 appro-

approbation, he should have been pleased and satisfied that it had received so respectable a sanction; but by tracing the sources of it in the motives which he has avowed, by their examination of those motives with their relative facts and circumstances; and by the doubts which they have anticipated and solved on the propriety of such parts of his conduct as might most obviously suggest them, they have justified their own, approved, and entitled him to expect the same favourable sentiments in their common opinion.

Copy of a letter from Mr. F. Balfour, Surgeon,
in the Company's service.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq.
Governor-General, &c.

SIR,

Lucknow, August 28, 1781.

About the month of November last, I communicated to Mr. Markham the substance of a conversation said to have passed between Rajah Cheit Sing and Saadit Alli, and which was reported to me by a person on whom I had some confidence. The mode of communicating this intelligence to you, I left entirely to Mr. Markham.

In

In this conversation, which was private, the Rajah and Saadat Alli, were said to have talked of Hyder Ally's victory over Colonel Bailie's detachment, to have agreed, that they ought to seize this opportunity of consulting their own interests, and to have determined to watch the success of Hyder's arms. Some days after this conversation was said to have happened, I was informed by the same person, that the Rajah had received a message from one of the Begums at Fyzabad, (I think it was from Shujah ul Dowlah's widow) advising him not to comply with the demands of government, and encouraging him to expect support in case of his resisting. This also I believe I communicated to Mr. Markham; but not being perfectly certain, I now think it my duty to remove the possibility of your remaining unacquainted with a circumstance which may not be unconnected with the present conduct of the Rajah.

With great respect, Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

(Signed)

FRANCIS BALFOUR.



F I N I S.

